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The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

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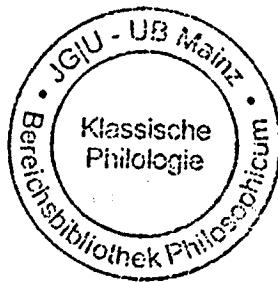
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The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek

Volume 4 Syntax

18/4 g7

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Correspondence Table of Graphemes and Phonemes

For the general orientation of the non-specialist user of this Grammar, this correspondence table indicates the relationship between the letters of the Greek alphabet and the phonemes they represent in Medieval and Early Modern Greek. It does not include graphemic particularities such as ligatures, abbreviations, special symbols or scribal idiosyncrasies which may be encountered in manuscript, epigraphic and printed sources, for which see the specific bibliography given in section 4 of the General Introduction (Volume 1). Further details concerning allophonic, regional or other particular realizations are provided, when necessary, in the relevant phoneme sections in Phonology.

Grapheme	Phoneme	Allophone
A α	/a/	
B β	/v/	
Γ γ	/y/	[j]
Δ δ	/ð/	
Ε ε	/e/	
Z ζ	/z/	
Η η	/i/	
Θ θ	/θ/	
Ι ι	/i/	
Κ κ	/k/	[c]
Λ λ	/l/	[λ]
Μ μ	/m/	
Ν ν	/n/	[n]
Ξ ξ	/ks/	
Ο ο	/o/	
Π π	/p/	
Ρ ρ	/r/	
Σ σς	/s/	
Τ τ	/t/	
Υ υ	/y/ > /i/	
Φ φ	/f/	
Χ χ	/χ/	[ç]
Ψ ψ	/ps/	
Ω ω	/o/	

Digraph	Phoneme	Allophone
αι	/e/	
αυ	/af/ – /av/	
γγ	/ng/	[ŋg] – [g]
γκ	/ng/	[ŋg] – [g]
ει	/i/	
ευ	/ef/ – /ev/	
μπ	/mb/	[b]
ντ	/nd/	[d]
οι	/y/ > /i/	
ου	/u/	
τζ	/ts/ – /dz/	
υι	/y/ > /i/	

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations

Cross-references within the Grammar are given by Chapter and Section, e.g. 2.6.3, if they refer to the same Part, but if to a different Part they begin with the relevant Part number, e.g. II, 3.1.

Periods and Dates

AG	Ancient Greek
EMedG	Early Medieval Greek
LMedG	Late Medieval Greek
EMG	Early Modern Greek
SMG	Standard Modern Greek
ca.	circa
c.	century

General

app. crit.	apparatus criticus
f., ff.	folio(s)
ibid.	in the same text, i.e. the one cited immediately before
id./idem/eadem	by the same author
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
vs.	versus

Grammatical Terms

acc.	accusative
act.	active
adv.	adverb
aor.	aorist
F/fem.	feminine
fut.	future
gen.	genitive
imp.	imperative
imperf.	imperfect
ind.	indicative
inf.	infinitive
M/masc.	masculine
N/neut.	neuter
NP	noun phrase

nom.	nominative
pass.	passive
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural (e.g. 3 pl. = 3rd person plural)
pluperf.	pluperfect
PP	prepositional phrase
prep.	preposition
pres.	present
pron.	pronoun
sg.	singular (e.g. 1 sg. = 1st person singular)
subj.	subjunctive
voc.	vocative
VP	verb phrase

Languages

Alb.	Albanian
Fr.	French
IE	Indo-European
Ital.	Italian
MedLat.	Medieval Latin
Lat.	Latin
Occit.	Occitan
OFr.	Old French
Port.	Portuguese
Rom.	Romanian
Slav.	Slavonic
Turk.	Turkish
Ven.	Venetian

Part IV
Syntax

Introduction

The eight syntax chapters were written on the basis of material taken from the grammar database set up by Notis Toufexis. The arduous work of selecting and compiling the examples was done chiefly by Marjolijn Janssen, with the assistance of Tina Lendari, Io Manolessou and Notis Toufexis. Further data were added when necessary for the sake of completeness.

The purpose of these chapters is to characterize the syntax of Medieval and Early Modern Greek by means of the rules that define its various constructions; no systematic effort has therefore been made to compare Medieval Greek with its ancient predecessor or its modern successor, though diachronic observations are sometimes offered where these seemed helpful. The rules in each chapter are numbered sequentially for ease of reference and presented in bold. Where necessary, further detail is supplied immediately below a rule, followed by a set of illustrative instantiations, stripped of irrelevant and superfluous detail. For example, since verse, syntactically speaking, differs from prose primarily in having a higher proportion of "marked" constituent orders, I have cited verse in a continuous format, without marking line-ends. I have also omitted any parts of examples, whether in verse or prose, that are not germane to the point under discussion (the deletions are indicated ...). In each set of examples, the material is organized chronologically, with the earliest material coming first. In the case of documentary texts, their place of origin is specified if known, together with their date. Literary texts, by contrast, are assigned to a century (sometimes tentatively), and where two different centuries are given, the first is that of the manuscript(s), the second that of composition. As far as possible, examples were chosen to illustrate not only the operation of rules but also the geographical spread and chronological range of the relevant structures. In some cases there are additional Notes below the citations, dealing, for example, with difficult, unusual, irregular or distributionally restricted phenomena.

I should add here that the spellings in the examples cited are those of the original editions, except that traditional subjunctive endings have been standardized by the addition of iota subscript in the relevant forms if this was omitted. But having blocks of examples exhibiting several different systems of accentuation simultaneously seemed not only an unnecessary distraction from syntactic matters but also aesthetically unattractive. A regularized polytonic form of accentuation has therefore been employed throughout, regardless of the preferred practice of individual editors. I offer no apologies.

Particular thanks are due to Marjolijn Janssen, who read through the complete text, updated several references in the light of recent publications, checked and normalized the orthography, and most importantly, corrected a number of errors of interpretation. I am very grateful for her contribution. I should also like to record here my gratitude to Peter

Mackridge, who, with characteristic generosity, offered to comment in detail on an earlier draft of these chapters. His careful reading of a complex text saved me from more than a few errors of form and interpretation, and raised a number of important issues that had simply passed me by. The final version has been greatly improved by the incorporation of his corrections and observations, and by the rewriting of several parts of the text in the light of his expert advice.

GCH

1 Main Clauses

1.1 Subject and Predicate

Complete sentences consist of at least one main clause and may contain any number of subordinate clauses (see Chapters 2–3 and 5.3.3). Two or more clauses may be conjoined or stand in apposition (see Chapter 7).

All clauses combine the meaning of a subject with that of a predicate, even when there is no “overt” subject present and its “content” has to be supplied indirectly, e.g. by reference to the verbal morphology (in finite clauses, see Rule (1) NOTE (i) immediately below), or through rules of control (in some non-finite clauses, see 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), and 3.8). This chapter deals with main clauses.

1.1.1 Subjects

- (1) **The subject of a finite verb is in the nominative case; the verb agrees with its subject in person and number.**

1 sg.	<u>ἐγώ</u> τὸ θέλω κι ἀγαπῶ	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 578
2 sg.	<u>ἐσύ</u> κλωσσᾶς τὰ χηνόπουλα	17th c., <i>Bertoldin.</i> 128.14
3 sg.	<u>καὶ</u> δ φθόνος ἐτυφλῶσεν	15th c./14th c., <i>Velis. χ</i> 536
1 pl.	<u>ἡμεῖς</u> μὲν ζῶμεν	1256, <i>Palatia (Miletos)</i> , NYSTAZOPOULOU 1966: 1, 288.1
2 pl.	<u>ἐχαλασθήκετε</u> <u>ἐσεῖς</u> κακῶς	16th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. A</i> 3219
3 pl.	<u>ώς</u> καὶ <u>μαρτύρουν</u> αὐτὰ <u>οἱ</u> καλοὶ <u>ἄνθρωποι</u>	?1125, <i>Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7</i>

NOTES

- (i) Subjects are routinely omitted when their “content” is pronominal (i.e. = “I”, “you”, “he/she/it”, etc.) and non-emphatic/non-contrastive, since the relevant person/number information is directly inferable from the agreement morphology on the verb (though additional contextual information may be required to identify the referent):

1 sg.	<u>λέγω</u> σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου	12th c./11th c., <i>NIKON, Logos 9</i> 312.10
3 sg.	<u>παρεκάθισε</u> τὴν πόλιν	15th–16th c., ?Peloponnese, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2

(ii) Conjoined subjects of different persons trigger agreement as follows:

- 1 sg./pl. + 2 sg./pl. > 1 pl.
- 1 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 1 pl.
- 2 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 2 pl.
- 3 sg./pl. + 3 sg./pl. > 3 pl.

(iii) Exceptions to the regular agreement rules include:

Agreement "by sense", e.g. where a formally singular subject denoting a collective entity takes a plural verb:

καὶ τόσον πολὺν ἀρίφνητον ἔφθασσαν εἰς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸ φουσάτον
16th c., *Dīg. Alex. F* 20.12–13 (Konstantinopoulos)

Agreement with only the closest of a set of subjects:

καὶ ποσῶς οὐκ ὀφελήσει καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ τὸ στέμμα τοῦ θεοῦ σου
14th c./15th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 7.112–14

Archaizing "Attic syntax", i.e. singular verb with neuter plural subject (mainly in earlier poetry with other learned elements):

ώς γὰρ τὰ ξύλα τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν φλόγαν ἐπαυξάνει ?12th–13th c., *Spaneas P* 131

(iv) For the agreement of nominal and adjectival predicative complements, see immediately below.

1.1.2 Nominal and Adjectival Predicative Complements

(2) In clauses containing a copular verb ("be", "become", "remain", "be made/called/appointed" etc.), a nominal/adjectival complement attributing a property to the subject agrees with the subject in case; complement nouns (with inherent gender) also agree in number, while complement adjectives agree in both gender and number; predicate nouns normally lack an article (see 5.3.2, Rule (76) NOTE (i)).

Nom. Masc. Sg. Subject + Nom. Masc. Sg. Adjectival Complement

ὁ γέρων νέος οὐ γίνεται 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 222

Nom. Fem. Sg. Subject + Nom. Fem. Sg. Adjectival Complement

σαράντα ἡμέρες λείπεται ὅψαλτη ἡ ἐκκλησιά τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 768

Nom. Fem. Sg. Subject + Nom. Sg. Nominal Complement (Inherently Feminine)

ἔμεινεν χήρα ἡ κυρά ἡ Τσαρλόττα 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron. B* 32.18

Nom. Masc. Sg. Subject (omitted) + Nom. Sg. Nominal Complements (Inherently Neuter)

καὶ βασιλέως παιδίν ήμουν, μεγάλου ἀνθρώπου ἐγύονι 16th c./15th c., OM. NEKR. Vas. 51

(3) If a transitive verb takes a nominal/adjectival complement attributing a property to its object (normally without the mediation of a copula), the predicate noun or adjective agrees with the object in case, and in number and gender as in Rule (1).

Acc. Masc. Sg. Object + Acc. Sg. Nominal Complement (inherently masculine)

πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὔκαιρητὴν ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέαν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208

Acc. Neut. Sg. Object + Acc. Neut. Sg. Adjectival Complement

δεῖξον λοξὸν τὸ βλέμμα

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 170

1.2 Statements

1.2.1 Statements about the Present and the Past

(4) The indicative mood is used to make a factual statement about the present or the past (for the uses of the different tenses of the indicative, see 4.4); a factual statement is negated with οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

Present

*λέγω σε τὴν αἰτίαν μου
συναπαντάει μου δὲ Πόθος*

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 312.10

15th c./13th–14th c., LIV. E 296

Imperfect

ώς καὶ ὑπαρτύρουν αὐτὰ οἱ καλοὶ ἀνθρώποι

?1125, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 18, 417.7

καὶ διδαμέν του γέννημαν

16th c./?, PAROIM. H 10

Aorist

*οὐδένεν ἐπέρασεν ποσῶς καὶ μικρός καὶ ὀλίγος
παρεκάθισε τὴν πόλιν*

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7944

15th–16th c., ?Peloponnesian, SCHREINER 1975/79: 33.III, 252.53.2

NOTE

(i) The present indicative may be prefixed with νά in vivid narrative. The earliest example in the database is from ca. 13th/14th c. In origin this construction is perhaps a combination of the "historic" present (4.4, Rule 46 and NOTES), employed to bring a story to life "before the reader's eyes", with the deictic/presentative particle νά (cf. French *voici/voilà*), though homophony with the mood marker νά (see 4.3) soon led to "subjunctive" spellings of the verb endings and presumably the conviction that the forms involved were indeed subjunctive:

*καὶ τὸ ραβδὸν ἐπαίξαμεν καὶ κονταροκτυποῦμεν· καὶ τὰ φαριά νά πηδοῦν, νά
πταίσουν τὸ κοντάριν, νά μοιάζῃ πόλεμος σωστός καὶ φόνος πρὸς ἀλλήλων*

15th c./13th–14th c., LIV. V 676–8

1.2.2 Statements about the Future: Possible and Hypothetical Events

Though speakers may be confident about the future occurrence of particular events, the future objectively is an unknown domain and statements about it cannot be strictly factual. "Future events", i.e. those whose occurrence speakers feel able to predict with confidence, therefore form a continuum with modally qualified "possible events", i.e. those whose actual or eventual occurrence speakers are in varying degrees unsure about. Forms denoting futurity and different types of modality (epistemic, deontic, etc.) may have a general/atemporal reading alongside the future one: compare, for example, *will* and *may* in *X will/may happen (tomorrow/in general)*. In present and past time future and modal forms can both be used to speculate about situations whose factual status the speaker is ignorant of, cf. *X may/will be happening (now); X may/will have happened (yesterday)*. In all cases, "future" *will* carries greater conviction than modals such as *may*.

Though any main clause may be tied to a condition, some modal forms effectively presuppose one, whether explicitly stated or contextually implied, e.g. *would* in [if *X happened*] *Y would happen*; [if *X were happening*] *Y would happen/be happening*; [if *X had happened*] *Y would have happened*. Such "remote" conditions (protases) set up situations for abstract/theoretical consideration, i.e. they are, strictly speaking, atemporal, with no commitment to their occurrence in the past, present or future. But they are often used to speculate about the past, present or future when knowledge is lacking or, in past and present time, to consider counterfactual scenarios when the truth is known. The main clause (apodosis) with its "conditional" verb form denotes the "hypothetical" consequence of the potential or impossible fulfilment of the remote condition. In the absence of an inherent temporal reference point, the event of the main clause is typically taken to be "in the future" relative to that of the condition, which is in turn taken to be "in the past" relative to its consequence. "Past-tense" verb forms are therefore typically used in protases and "future-in-the-past" forms in apodoses. Futures/modals marked as "past", like *would* and *might*, distinguish different degrees of conviction about the likelihood of the consequence, given the prior fulfilment of the remote condition, cf. [if *X happened*] *Y would/might happen*.

LMedG/EMG does not distinguish systematically between what "will occur" and what "may/can/shall occur" or between what "would occur" and what "might/could/should occur". Nor does it systematically distinguish what "would etc. occur" (now/in future) from "what would etc. have occurred" (in the past). It does, however, distinguish the language user's subjective view of actions as "bounded" (perfective) or "unbounded" (imperfective), and this aspectual distinction partly characterizes the forms used to refer to future and possible/hypothetical events (for verbal aspect, see 4.4). The details of usage are discussed and exemplified below.

1.2.2.1 Verb Forms Denoting Future/Possible Events

- (5) Reference to future/possible events can be made with periphrases consisting of the present tense of the future/modal auxiliaries μέλλω/ἔχω/(ἐ)θέλω + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) infinitive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν, placed before the auxiliary.

Since each auxiliary has its own preferences and restrictions, the three options will be presented separately.

Μέλλω + Infinitive

All examples in the database refer to the future, broadly continuing the ancient use "be going to":

Present Infinitive

μέλλουσιν ἡμᾶς οἱ διώκοντες φθάνειν

13th-14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G IV.628*

μέλλομεν ἔχειν τὸ ἥμισυ

1232, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA 1865: 286, 396.6*

Aorist Infinitive

πάντες μέλλομεν σταθῆν τὴν φοβερὰν ἡμέραν

15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E 1755*

μέλλομεν εἰσελθεῖν

1232, S. Italy, *TRINCHERA 1865: 176, 231.30-1*

NOTES

- (i) μέλλω + inf. occurs mainly in non-literary, legal and official texts. The present infinitive is favoured in the earlier medieval period and the aorist infinitive in the later medieval period with a consequential blurring of the perfective/imperfective opposition throughout.
- (ii) μέλλω + inf. typically carries a strong deontic nuance of "what shall (certainly) be/what has to be".

ἔχω + Infinitive

The classical meaning is dynamic ("be able"), but the construction also acquired epistemic/potential, deontic and future uses in Late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

In the later medieval period, as the corresponding "conditional" εἴχα + infinitive takes on the role of a pluperfect (see 3.3, Rule (34); 4.4), ἔχω in future/modal function is sometimes strengthened through the prefixation of the modal marker ἵνα/νά (with negative μή(ν) placed after the particle). This restricted option is characteristic of lower-register texts and represents the renewal of a form that was increasingly felt to be anomalous with the functional shift of εἴχα + infinitive. It proved to be a temporary expedient, however, and the ἔχω-periphrasis henceforth gives ground steadily to the (ἐ)θέλω-periphrasis (see immediately below).

All examples in the database refer to the future and/or have a generic reading:

Present Infinitive

Ἴλλος ἔχει εἶναι εἰς τὸ παλάτιον

9th c., Theophanes, *Chronogr. 127.13* (ed. De Boor)

ἄλλ’ ἡμεῖς ἐτέροις ἔχομεν ἀκολουθεῖν

10th c., *De ceremoniis II 427.13* (ed. Reiske)

Aorist Infinitive

ἔχεις ... εύρειν καὶ νοήσειν πάντα, διτι εὔκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos 9 310.10-11*

ἔξαλαφρώσειν ἔχεις τούς πόνους

16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Velis. (Λ) 557*

νὰ ἔχω + Infinitive
 ἐπει ἔνι γάρ κι ὁ τόπος σου γυμνὸς ἐκ τὰ φουσοῦτα,
 νὰ τὸν ἐπάρουν εὔκολα καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχης χάσει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4236-7

NOTES

- (i) Use of ἔχω + infinitive as a future had a “low” origin, and though it gained acceptance over time, it is used mainly in literary rather than official texts.
- (ii) Use of ἔχω with both aorist and present infinitives (the latter only rarely) belongs to the early medieval period. Subsequently the aorist infinitive alone is attested, with neutralization of the aspectual contrast.

(E)θέλω + Infinitive

The principal ancient meaning was “want” and this option was retained. But future, epistemic/potential and deontic uses are all well established by the later medieval period, when the (ē)θέλω-periphrasis begins to take over from ἔχω (see above). With animate subjects it is often difficult or impossible to decide whether the intended force is “want to X” or “will X”.

The majority of examples in the database refer to the future and/or have a generic reading, but a handful of later examples occur with clear reference to the present in inferential/epistemic use:

Future/Generic

Present Infinitive

ἔως τότε γάρ θέλεις εἶναι εὐγενής
 14th c./11th c., Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* V 298 ccxviii (ed. Roueché)

ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, μέμφεσται κι δύνειδίει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8185

Aorist Infinitive

τολμήσειν θέλω

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.5v.11

θέλει ίδειν ὁ λεγόμενος ἀποκρισιάρτης

1498, Rhodes, *LEFORT* 1981: 2, 41.12

Present (Inferential/Epistemic)

Present Infinitive

κοιμᾶσται θέλει ἀληθινά, γιὰ κεῖνο δὲν προβάνει

17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSIKIS, Katz.* I.19

NOTES

- (i) The θέλω-periphrasis is the only one with a fully developed aspectual contrast in the infinitive, reflecting its normalization within the verbal paradigm as the dominant future form in LMedG. Its partial grammaticalization is associated with the appearance of shortened forms of the auxiliary (θέσ, θέ(v), θέμε(v), θέτε, θέν(ε)) from around the 15th c.

(ii) This is the only infinitival periphrasis used to denote speculations/inferences about the present, a further reflection of its development as the “regular” future tense of later MedG and EMG.

- (6) From ca. 12th–13th c. onwards the infinitival complement may be replaced by a periphrasis consisting of the modal marker *ἴνθαι*/νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(ού)δεν, placed before the auxiliary.

Future/Generic

Aorist Subjunctive

τὰ δρη ... τὰ μέλλεις νὰ περάστης

16th c./15th c., *DELLAP. Erot. Apokr.* 3147

θέλει νὰ φανῇ ἡ ἀγάπη του

16th c., *Dig. P VII.386.24*

ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος

1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 14, 35.5–6

Present Subjunctive

ἡ γνωριμίδα τοὺς κριτάδες θέλει νὰ ἔνη τοιούτη

16th c./?13th c., *Assizes A* 52.21

Present (Inferential/Epistemic)

Present Subjunctive

καὶ αὐτὸς κάτι θέλει νὰ ξεύρῃ ποὺ συντυχαίνει ἔτοι

1653–5, Venice, *FONKIĆ* 2000: 240, f.1v.8–9

ἔγω γελιῶμαι ... ἡ αὐτὴ θέλει νὰ εἶναι ἡ μεγαλύτερη τύχη

18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.16–17

τὸ κοτσί θέλει νὰ εἶναι κανενοῦ στρατοκόπου

18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.24

NOTES

- (i) This substitution does not affect νὰ ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive.
- (ii) The present subjunctive is very rare with μέλλω νά and ἔχω νά, as expected on the basis of their infinitival counterparts (cf. above). Both these periphrases often have strong deontic overtones.
- (iii) Impersonal μέλλει νά (sometimes μέλλεται νά in Crete and Cyprus) and θέλει νά are also found from 14th c., in imitation of the impersonal modal verbs πρέπει, ἔνδεχεται, μπορεῖ (see 4.3). Both these periphrases may again have strong deontic nuances. Impersonal ἔχει νά is very rare.
- (iv) Personal θέλω νά in the early part of the later medieval period is normally volitive/modal and so partly distinguished from the mainly “future” θέλω + infinitive. But from ca. 14th c. onwards θέλω νά is also used as a future, albeit less frequently than its infinitival counterpart. In the very late medieval and early modern periods, this periphrasis also acquires inferential/epistemic use with present time reference.
- (v) From the 14th c. future/modal θέλω may even be complemented by the modally strengthened infinitival periphrasis νὰ ἔχω + (aorist) infinitive:

καὶ θέλω νὰ σᾶς ἔχω εἰπεῖ καὶ νὰ σᾶς ἀφηγήσω

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3140

(vi) θέλω + “bare” subjunctive appears beside θέλω νά + subjunctive from ca. 14th c., both variants sometimes using the shortened forms of the auxiliary:

θέλουν ἀνακατωθοῦν οὐλοι οι χριστιανοι 1496, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 9, 61.7

(vii) From θές νά, θέ(v) νά etc. an invariant θέ νά eventually evolved in the 15th and 16th c., apparently first in southern areas. The modern θά, first attested in late-16th-c. Crete, represents a further reduction of θέ νά:

θέ νά + subj: καὶ δλα θέ νά πάψου 16th c., Alex. Rim. 385

θά + subj: στήμερο θά σὲ στερευτώ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Panor. I.15

(7) Reference to future/possible events can also be made with the modal particle ινά/νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(v)/μηδέν, placed after ινά/νά.

This construction goes back to the Roman imperial period, when it originally had deontic/optative force, but it soon evolved into a general marker of the subjunctive mood with a wide variety of modal functions, including the expression of futurity. It is often difficult to distinguish future use from potential/epistemic (“may/can”) or deontic (“should”) uses.

Present Subjunctive

ἐκεῖ νά σὲ ἀναμένω 13th–14th c./?12th c., Dig. G IV.211

κάθα χρόνο ... νά στέλλῃ ... μ' χιλιάδες δουκάτα 1483, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 2, 41.5–6

Aorist Subjunctive

ἐρώτα καὶ νά μάθης 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 137

ἄμα τὸ φορέσῃ, εἰς γῆν νά πέσῃ ἐκ τὸ ἄλογον 15th–16th c./13th–14th c., Liv. α 2992–3

ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἔμπροστεν Φράγκος νά μή μᾶς
βιάσῃ ν' ἀλλάξωμεν τὴν πίστιν μας 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 2093–4

NOTES

- Nά (μή(v)) + subjunctive may also be read as a command or a wish if the context permits (see Rules (13), (14) and (20)).
- Use of this construction as a future declines during the later medieval period as the θέλω-periphrasis and its later reflexes become more dominant in this function.
- In strong denials ού μή(v) + subjunctive may be used; νά is normally absent, but if used, follows the negation:

1 sg. ποτέ σας ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ρόγαν ού μή σᾶς δώσω 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5116

2 sg. ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν ψυχήτσα μου δόλον ού μή νά ἔχης 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4065

3 sg. ἀν δὲ ζητήσῃς ... γυναῖκαν νά μὲ πάρης ού μή θελήσῃ ὁ πατέρας σου 15th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. L 649

(8) At the very end of the period covered by this Grammar speculative/inferential reference to the past (= “will have done X (I suppose)”) may be made using θέλει, probably impersonally in all cases, + aorist indicative.

πλὴν ... εἰς Κορυφούς θέλει ἀλλάχθηκαν

1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 304, f.1v.13–14

θέλει ἐμετέβαλεν αὐτούς τοὺς γίγαντας εἰς εἶδος ἀνεμομύλων

18th c., Don Kis. 46.15–16

1.2.2.2 Verb Forms Denoting Hypothetical/Conditional Events

As we have seen, hypothetical conditions and their consequences can be used to speculate “theoretically” about the past, present and future, or “counterfactually” about the past and present. Languages differ, however, in the extent to which real-world time reference is marked in the “conditional” verb forms employed. LMedG/EMG makes no clear temporal distinctions in such cases (the “past tense” of the protasis and the “future-in-the-past” of the apodosis being mutually relative tenses, see above), and relies instead on choice of aspect and context.

Verb forms built to the present/imperfective or aorist/perfective stems are used to reflect the speaker’s decision to present an eventuality as unbounded (e.g. continuous/progressive/habitual) or bounded (i.e. a single complete whole). Reference to the present moment, which “progresses” with time, is normally made with an imperfective form on its “progressive” reading, and reference to “general” states of affairs with an imperfective form on its “habitual” reading, cf. *X is happening (now)* with *X happens (usually)*. By contrast, though past and future eventualities may readily be viewed both imperfectively and perfectly, the perfective view is the default case. Thus a LMedG/EMG conditional expression containing an imperfective verb form is typically taken to refer to the present or to a general state of affairs, and one containing a perfective form to the past or the future, with the context discriminating between the two temporal readings. But it is important to remember that this is not necessarily so and that past and future events may also be viewed imperfectively (as continuous/progressive or habitual), just as actions in the present may be viewed perfectly. Equally, some conditional periphrases, like their future counterparts, do not display a full aspectual contrast, and in these cases the reader is required to fall back on context alone.

The following examples of the conditional periphrasis with εἰχα, which is used almost exclusively with aorist/perfective infinitives, should help to clarify. The same construction may be understood in context to refer to the past, present or future:

Past

ἔὰν ... οὐδὲν ἤλθεν ..., οὐδὲν εἶχεν ἔξαναστρέψει 16th c./?13th c., Assizes A 91.26–7

“if he had not come (then), he would not have returned (later)”

Present

ἄν ού σὲ γάπουν τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σέ χα 15th–16th c./14th–15th c., Achil. N 1571

"if I didn't love you so much, I would kill you now"

Future

ἄν ξέρεις πῶς ἀφτουσι τὰ φύλλα τῆς καρδιᾶς μου ... κρίνω πῶς μ' εἶχες κλαίγει ...
CHORTATSI, Katz. I.2-3

"if you were to know..., I think that you would weep for me"

- (9) Reference to hypothetical events can be made with a conditional periphrasis consisting of the imperfect tense of the future/modal auxiliaries ἔμελλα/εἴχα/ ἥθελα + present (imperfective) infinitive or aorist (perfective) infinitive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν, placed before the auxiliary.

"Εμελλον/ἔμελλα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἐν τῷ ἐσθίειν τὴν Ἀγάπην ἔμελλεν κλαίειν 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 2 150.9
μέλλει διαδέχεσθαι 1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.43

Aorist Infinitive

τούτους ἔμελλεν γάρ κτεῖναι 15th c./14th c., ERMON, *Ilias* 3.171
ἔμελλον προσμεῖναι εἰς τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα 16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 108.12

NOTES

- (i) This is very much a residual construction in later medieval Greek, used mainly with aorist (perfective) infinitives and typically with a strong deontic nuance ("should/should have").
- (ii) From ca. 14th–15th c. the infinitive may be replaced by νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, the former largely restricted to inherently stative verbs that lack aorist stems.
- (iii) Impersonal ἔμελλε νά (ἔμέλλετον νά in the south-west) is a common option, and is occasionally complemented by a past-tense indicative (imperfect or aorist) in place of a subjunctive.

Εἴχον/εἴχα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἀγωνιῶν εἶχες καὶ ἀδημονεῖν 14th c./11th c., Kekaumenos, *Strategikon* 296, 13–14 (ed. Litavrin)
παρηγοριά δὲν εἶχε στατι τούτη στὰ βάσανά μου 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.183

Aorist Infinitive

οὐκ ἄν εἰς οἶκον μάς ποτε εἶχετε πορευθῆναι 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G* I.275
τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ρωμαίων κληρονομήσειν εἶχεν 15th c./14th c., *Velis.* χ 371–2

NOTES

- (i) Present (imperfective) infinitives are increasingly rare with εἴχον/εἴχα in the later medieval period, and the verbs attested tend to be inherently stative, i.e. without aorist (perfective) stems.
- (ii) The majority of examples of εἴχον/εἴχα + inf. in the later medieval period occur in the protases of hypothetical/counterfactual conditional sentences, where the shift to pluperfect use originated (see 3.3 and 4.4), and most of the examples in main clauses follow an overt conditional of this type, i.e. as apodoses.
- (iii) Εἴχον/εἴχα νά + subjunctive (aorist) is a rare variant, occurring in texts from southern areas.
- (iv) Εἴχον/εἴχα + "bare" subjunctive (present or aorist) occurs in late medieval/early modern texts from south-western regions; impersonal εἴχε is also attested in a handful of early modern texts from this area.
- (v) Εἴχον/εἴχα + a past-tense indicative (imperfect, more rarely aorist) is also found on occasion.
- (vi) Εἴχον/εἴχα + infinitive may be strengthened through prefixation of the modality marker νά (negative μήν) after the particle).

"Ηθελον/ἥθελα + Infinitive

Present Infinitive

ἥθελαινεν ἔχει καὶ διλιγότερον κόπον εἰς τὰς γραφάς 1456, Patras, MALTEZOU 1983: 2, 22.9

ἥθελα βλέπει κείνηνε

15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* III.75,6 (1529)

Aorist Infinitive

οὐδέναν (βιβλίον) ἥθελεν εύρεθη ?post 1356, Berat/Albania, ALEXOULIS 1892: 1, 276.18
στραφῆν ἥθελαν ἀπρακτοί 15th c./14th c., *Velis.* χ 215

NOTES

- (i) The imperfective/perfective aspectual contrast is well established in this periphrasis, with the present (imperfective) infinitive used much more widely than with μέλλω/ἔχω, even with non-stative verbs.
- (ii) "Ηθελον/ἥθελα νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive mainly has a volitive meaning, but is sometimes also used as a conditional, particularly in texts after 15th c.
- (iii) From ca. 14th c. ηθελον/ἥθελα may be complemented by bare subjunctives, present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective). Impersonal ήθελε(ν) also occurs from 15th c. Occasionally this combination is prefixed with the modality marker νά:

καὶ μοῦ θελε λείπει καὶ τούτη φόρσα νά θελα ντεσπεραριστῶ

1625, Crete (Chandax), MAVROMATIS 1986, 6, 79.14–15

- (iv) The modally strengthened combination *νὰ ἔχω* + (aorist) infinitive may also be used to complement *ἡθελον*/*ἡθελα*:

ἡθελε νὰ ἔχῃ ἀποχωρήσει

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 5785

- (v) *Ἡθελον*/*ἡθελα* (\pm *νά*) may also be complemented by past-tense indicatives (imperfect, less commonly aorist), especially in texts from the Heptanese.

- (vi) A reduced/invariable form *ἡθε(v)*, usually with a bare subjunctive complement, is attested in mainly later texts from southern areas.

- (10) Reference to hypothetical events can also be made with the modal particle *ἴνα/νά* + imperfect (past imperfective) indicative or aorist (past perfective) indicative; the negative is *μή(ν)/μηδέν* placed after the particle.

νά + Imperfect

ἄν ... κ' ἐνίκησέ με εἰς πόλεμον, παρηγορίαν

νά τὸ εἶχα

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5005–7

στὴν μέσην του *νὰ ἔβανες* ὡραῖον δακτυλιδίσιν

16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 63

κι ἄς ἥμουν ρογεμένος, *νά τρωγα* καὶ

νά χόρταινα

17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSIKIS, Katz.* III.108–9

νά + Aorist

καὶ δὲ βλέπων *νὰ εἶδεν* ἔνωσιν ἀστέρων

δύο μεγάλων

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit.* f.4r.3

ἄν ... δὲ πρίγκιπας ... *νὰ εἶχε* ... κουρσέψει ..., δὲ

Μέγας δὲ Δεμέστικος ἄργα *νὰ ἔφουσσατέψεν*

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4876–80

ἔὰν εἶχαμεν τὴν δύναμιν, *νὰ ἐποιήσαμεν* τὸ δύματζιον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7910

νά τες οὐκ ἔφάνησαν ποτὲ στὸν κόσμον

15th c., *Rim. than.* 52 ms

- (11) The bare imperfect indicative is also used as a conditional, usually, though not invariably, when a co-occurring conditional clause indicates the required (hypothetical) reading; the negative is *οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν*.

ἔὰν μᾶς παρατρέψουν, *ἔχάναμεν* τὸν πόλεμον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5368–9

δλίγους καλλιώτερους *τύρισκες* τοῦ Νεστόρου

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1451

ἄν εἶχε ζῆ δὲ Ἐκτορας ..., οὐκ *ἔφοβούμεθαν* *νὰ*

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 9871–2

χάσωμεν ἀπ' αὐτούς

ἄν εἶχεν τὸ ξέύρειν δὲ ἀποστολές ..., δὲν

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 9871–2

ἀφήνειν *νὰ τοὺς πάρει*

16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 32.7–8

NOTES

- (i) Less commonly, the aorist indicative is also used as a conditional. Since the action described in the main clause cannot precede that of the conditional clause in real time, the aorist here can only be interpreted as denoting a hypothetical/counterfactual consequence of the fulfilment of the condition:

1 Main Clauses

ἄν μόνον ἀνενδράνισες, τὸ πρόσωπον ἄν εἶδες, *ἐσείσθης* ὅλην σου ψυχήν, ὅλην σου τὴν καρδίαν

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 817–18

μ' ἄν εἶχεν εἶσται κι ἀσκημός, τότες, τὴν ὥρα κείνη σὰν ἥβαλε τὸν πόθο της, πολλὰ δημοφός *ἔγινη*

18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot.* II.549–50

- (ii) Conditional use of the imperfect arises from confusion of past habituality with conditionality, as also reflected in the two uses of English *would*, cf. *if ever X happened (at any times in the past/at any times in the non-past), Y would happen*. This is based on a failure to distinguish between real and relative time reference in conditional sentences and on the temporal non-specificity of both repeated/habitual and “pure” hypothetical eventualities (i.e. when not tied speculatively/counterfactually to real-world situations). Contrast the following example with those cited above:

κι ἄν *ἡθε φάγω* τὸ φαγί, εἰς πίκρα *ἥφερνέ* με κι ἄν *ἡθε πιῶ* καὶ τὸ πιοτόν, εἰς *ζάλη γύριζέ* με

17th c., *PROSOPAS, Peri tyflou* 103–4

Here the “conditional” in the protasis has a habitual sense and the imperfect in the apodosis denotes a series of events at indefinite intervals in the past. In LMedG/EMG the “habitual” imperfect was extended to conditional use just as “conditionals” were sometimes extended to habitual use.

- (iii) The conditional imperfect is used wherever other conditional forms occur, and as a consequence, though its form is necessarily invariant, it may carry both imperfective and perfective readings.

1.3 Commands and Prohibitions

- (12) Commands in the second person, singular and plural, may be expressed by the imperative, present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective).

2 sg. Present Imperative

πρὸ πάντων *ἔχε* τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν φόβον

13th–14th c./?12th c., *Spaneas* P 1

2 pl. Present Imperative

τοίνυν *ύπάγετε* καλῶς

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 242

2 sg. Aorist Imperative

ἄπαξ τὸν πόνον *ἔπαρε* καὶ *ἀπομερίμνησέ* το

13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 212

2 pl. Aorist Imperative

δεκτεῖτε καὶ ἐμένα

16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 350.20

NOTE

- (i) The aspectual contrast in imperatives is between ordering repeated or continuing activity (or the inception of such activity = "start doing X") and ordering specific, complete actions. There may, however, be morphological gaps in the paradigms of particular verbs that restrict the options in specific cases.

(13) Commands may also be expressed by the modal particle νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; 2nd-person forms are broadly equivalent to imperatives, but 3rd-person forms are also widely used, often in legal contexts such as wills etc.

2 sg. Present Subjunctive

νά τὸ ἔξεύρης δτι ἡμεῖς μέλλομεν τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν
14th c., Cyprus, KODER et al. 2001: 245, 436.164–5

2 pl. Present Subjunctive

νά τὰς ἔξεύρετε ... δτι ἐγώ τοῦ Ἀδου τὰ καταχθόνια ἀφόρισα
16th c., Diig. Alex. F 12.2–3 (Konstantinopoulos)

2 sg. Aorist Subjunctive

τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ... νά τὴν πέμψῃς τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον
12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 9 314.15–16

2 pl. Aorist Subjunctive

νά σπουδάξετε να ἔλθετε
1508, Ios, PATRAMANI 1989/90: 3, 174.45

3 sg. Present Subjunctive

καὶ ή ἐκκλησίᾳ νά δίδῃ τὴν λύσιν
ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 33.80–1

3 pl. Present Subjunctive

ὅλα νά τὰ ἔχουν χωρὶς τινὸς λόγου
1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.25–6

3 sg. Aorist Subjunctive

οἵος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν ... νά δώσῃ καὶ πρόστιμαν
13th c., Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

3 pl. Aorist Subjunctive

νά μὲ λαζαρώσουν ὥσπερ τοὺς ὅλους καλογέρους
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52

NOTES

- (i) The sense of νά + subjunctive in deontic use is similar to that of the English future/conditional in related function, cf. *you, s/he, they shall/should do X*. But it may be hard to distinguish commands from wishes in specific cases (cf. 1.5), and in 3 sg./pl. the deontic meaning is also very close to that of ἄσ + subjunctive (see Rule (15) NOTE (ii) below).

- (ii) 2 pl. imperatives and 2 pl. subjunctives may be indistinguishable if traditional "subjunctive" spellings are not employed in a given text; there is therefore some indeterminacy about the relevant examples.

- (iii) Periphrastic forms used to refer to the future (see 1.2.2, Rules (5) and (6)) may also be used deontically, as expected. In this case 1 sg./pl. forms of the relevant auxiliaries are used alongside those of 2nd/3rd person, though it is often difficult to distinguish expressions of obligation or necessity from assertions of future intent, cf. *I must/will do X*:

περάσειν ἔχω ... τὸ πιοτάμι
15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 1532

καὶ τοῦτο θέλει νὰ γένη
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.5–6

σήμερο ... ἔχω ν' ἀποθάνω
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Erof. V.285

- (14) Corresponding prohibitions are sometimes expressed with μή(ν)/μηδέν and the present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) imperative, though the aorist is exceedingly rare; prohibitions are regularly expressed by μή(ν)/μηδέν + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, sometimes prefixed with νά.

Imperative

Present Imperative

καὶ μή λογίζου παρ' ἡμῶν λυπηρὸν ὑποστῆναι
13th–14th c./?12th c., Dig. G IV.699

τότε μή ζήτει φυσικῆς ἀκολουθίας τάξιν
16th c./15th c., DELLAPO. Erot. apokr. 2986

μή θέλε μανθάνειν ή ἀκούειν
15th–16th c., Vios Aisop. E 288.18

ὅπου φιλεῖς μή δάνειζε, καὶ δπου ἀγαπᾶς μή σύχναζε
16th c./?, Paroim. H 13

Aorist Imperative

μή ... κρίνατε κρίσιν
16th c./15th c., DELLAPO. Erot. apokr. 1120

μή γένε σύ ἀνελεήμονος
16th c., Diig. Alex. K 365.32

NOTE

- (i) Μή + aorist imperative was ungrammatical in AG and the number of possible examples in the Grammar database is very small. We may reasonably doubt whether this was ever a "normal" option in LMedG/EMG.

Bare Subjunctive

Present Subjunctive

κανεῖς μή σὲ κομπώνῃ
15th c./12th c., Ptoch. (Maiuri) 45

παγαίνετε ἀπὸ τὸν τόπον μου, ἔδω μηδέν ἀργῆτε
15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1418 app. crit. (A)

Aorist Subjunctive

καὶ μὴ τολμήστος νὰ τὸ εἰπῆς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8217
 μηδὲν πέψης ἄτυχους καὶ χάστος πολλά 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. O* 22.35–6

Νὰ μή(ν) + Subjunctive

Present Subjunctive
 καὶ νὰ μὴ φοβᾶται καὶ αὐτός 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 30.8

Aorist Subjunctive

ποσῶς νὰ μὴ ἀλαζονευτῆς 15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil. N* 937

NOTE

- (i) In 3 sg./pl. forms the meaning is very close to that of ἀς μή(ν) + subjunctive (see Rule (15) NOTE (ii)).

(15) Speaker-inclusive “exhortation” in 1 pl. and speaker-exclusive “encouragement” in 3rd person (normally with overtones of permission/acquiescence) are expressed with the particle ἀς (< aorist imperative of ἀφήνω “let”) + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν), placed after the particle.

1 pl.

βουλὴ ἀς ἔχωμε ἀμφότεροι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2838
 ἐνταῦτα στρέμμα ἀς ποιήσωμεν ἀπέσω εἰς τὴν Πόλιν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 838
 ἀς ποῦμεν ἄλλον τίθοτας νὰ πάρω σὰν ἀέρα 16th c./15th c., *FALIEROS, Log. did.* 257

3 sg./pl.

καὶ ὁ χρήζων τὸ ἀς τὸ ἐπάροι καὶ ὁ μὴ χρήζων τὸ ἀς τὸ ἀφήσῃ
 12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 312.14–15
 οἷος δὲ φανῇ εἰς ἀναζήτησιν ..., ἀς ἔχῃ τὸ ἀνάθεμα
 13th c., *Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH* 1927: 20, 9.6–7
 πάντες ἀς ἐλθωσιν, ἀς φθάσωσιν, ἀς περισυναχθῶσιν 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv. V* 17

NOTES

- (i) The present (imperfective) subjunctive is comparatively rare in this construction, and occurs mostly with verbs that lack an aorist (perfective) stem.
 (ii) In 3 sg./pl. forms the meaning of ἀς + subjunctive tends to merge with that of νά + subjunctive, cf. [if X happens], let him do Y/he should do Y, and consider the following example where the two types are conjoined:
 ἀς ἔχῃ τὸ ἀνάθεμα καὶ νὰ δώσῃ καὶ πρόστιμαν

Pontos, 13th c., OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 20, 9.6–7

1.4 Questions and Exclamations

1.4.1 Questions

(16) Constituent questions (introduced by an expression containing an interrogative pronoun/adverb) regularly use forms of the indicative, including “future” and “conditional” periphrases, with negative οὐ(κ)/(ού)δεν.

For questions containing verb forms marked with νά, see Rule (18).

The phrase containing the interrogative element normally functions as a single constituent and stands initially in its clause; the verb is often attracted, coming immediately after it (only weak object pronouns may intervene). Occasionally, however, the interrogative pronoun/adverb stands alone in initial position, leaving the remainder of the interrogative constituent in place.

Present

τί θλίβεσαι τοσούτως; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4903

τίντα δίκαιον ἔχει ὁ ρήγας μετά σας ...; 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 258.35–6

Past (Aorist)

πῶς ἡ καρδία σου ἐβάσταξεν, ὑπόμεινε ἡ ψυχή σου ...; 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 12227

πῶς μᾶς ἐπαρστήθητε ...; 16th c., *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 70

Future/Modal

ποιὰ μέλλει νά χη πλερωμή ἡ ἐδική μου ἀγάπη; 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSI, Panor.* IV.178

πῶς ἔχω νὰ τὸ χώσω; 17th c., *KONDAR., Paides* 322

NOTES

- (i) Since all the future-referring periphrases also have modal readings (see Rule (5)), there is uncertainty about the interpretation of many examples.

- (ii) Constituent questions may also contain various forms of conditional periphrasis, as expected (see Rule (9)), with related uncertainties of interpretation:

ἀν ἔλειπε ἡ πανιερότη σου, ίτα είχα ἐγώ γίνει;
 1612, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 4, 171.15–16

- (iii) Rhetorical questions have the same form as genuine requests for information:

ἀφότου ἔφυγεν δίχα νὰ πολεμήσῃ ..., πῶς ἡμποροῦμε ἡμεῖς ... νὰ βλάψωμεν τὸν τόπον;

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 9177–81

(17) Yes/no questions also employ indicatives, including future/modal and conditional periphrases; negation with οὐ(κ)/(ού)δεν forms a question that expects a positive answer; μή(ν)/μήνα (“perhaps”, “by any chance”) may be prefixed to a yes/no question for politeness.

For questions containing verb forms marked with νά, see Rule (18).

Positive

ἡκουσές το:

ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973, 59.148

ἔχουν μισόν;

post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 44, 38.4–5

Negative

οὐξέρεις εἰς ἐριζικὸν κοίτεται ή στρατεία;14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4904οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε ποσῶς νὰ παίζωμε ως κοπέλια;14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5394

+ μήν(α)

μήνα χεις τίποτες βιβλίο νέο νὰ μοῦ πουλήσης;16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr. Prol.* 1μήν εἶδες, ὅγιε τοῦ Θεοῦ, καμία ... γυναίκα ... νὰ περάσῃ;17th c., MONTSEL., *Evgenea* 1187–8

NOTE

- (i) It is a moot point whether the verb forms used after μήν(α) should be regarded as simple indicatives (as with SMG μήπως in this role), or as modal (as perhaps reflected in the variant μήνα if this is indeed < μή + νά rather than a remodelling based on the use of semantically related elements such as τάχα).

(18) Questions of both kinds about the future also use νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive, with negative μή(ν) placed after the particle; the same construction is used for deliberative/speculative questions and the usual uncertainties of interpretation arise (“who will X?”, “who is to X?”, “who can/may X?” etc.).

The phrase containing the interrogative pronoun/adverb normally functions as a single constituent and stands initially in its clause; the verb is often attracted, coming immediately after it (only νά, μή(ν) and weak object pronouns may intervene).

ποῖον μαντάτον νὰ ὑπάγωμεν τὴν ταπεινήν μας μάνα; 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 93ποῦ νὰ κρυβοῦν τὰ κάλλη σου ... καὶ πότε ... νὰ σὲ δῶ, πότε νὰ σὲ συντύχω, πότε ... νὰ φιλήσω τὰ ἔρωτικά σου κάλλη; 15th c., *Achil. L* 1307–9ἴντα βουλή νὰ κάμωμε, τί στράτα νὰ κρατοῦμε ...; 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 10aἄν πάθης ἐσύ τίποτες, τίς νὰ μὲ παρηγορήσῃ; 16th c., *Dig. Alex. F* 26.15 (Konstantinopoulos)νὰ εἶναι οἱ ἀνθρώποι ἐτοῦτοι θεοί; 16th c., *Dig. Alex. F* 40.4–6 (Konstantinopoulos)τοῦτοι ... τάχα νὰ εἶναι ἀνθρώποι; 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Digisis* (Meteoron) 111.36–7

NOTE

- (i) Various forms of conditional may also be used in deliberative/speculative questions about the past, present or future, again with the usual uncertainties of interpretation:

τὰ σκεύη τὰ πανάγια καὶ ποῦ νὰ κατανήσου; 15th c., *Anak. Konst.* 1–11ποιὸν νὰ εἶχε πιάσῃ καὶ ὁ ὄγας; ποιὸν νὰ ἤθελε φονέψῃ; 17th c., BOUBOULIS, *Limbon.* 423

1.4.2 Exclamations

(19) Interrogative pronouns/adverbs may be used with adjectives and adverbs to form exclamations; the verb is indicative if one is present.

τί φοβερός ὁ τόπος ἐτοῦτος!16th c., *Pent. Gen.* 28.17ἴντα κανίσκιν ἄσκημο μ' ἔχεις κανισκεμένη!17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof. V.* 398πόσον καλά ὅποιον ἔκαμεν ὁ πατέρας σου!17th c., *Bertoldin.* 129.1–2

NOTE

- (i) Other forms of exclamation include the following:

νά + subjunctive:

νὰ λέουν ὁκάποιος φτωχός ... ἐνίκησεν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀδελφὸν ...!14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5008–9

“to have people say that some pauper defeated the king’s brother!”

καλά “well” (used ironically) followed by a clause introduced by the “factive” complementizer πού (see 2.1, Rule (24)):

καλά ποὺ τίς γνωρίζω!17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* I.93

1.5 Wishes

(20) Wishes for the future use νά + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is μή(ν) placed after the particle. Since this construction also has a wide range of future/modal readings (see Rules (7), (13), (14)), ἀμποτε(s) or μακάρι(oν) may be prefixed for clarity.

1 sg. νὰ μηδὲ τῆς μητέρας μου εὐχήν κληρονομήσω 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 9072 sg. βίον εἰρηνικὸν νὰ ζήσης, νὰ περάσῃς 17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig. O* Prol. 53 sg. καὶ δοτις εύρεθη ἐμποδίζειν ... νὰ ἔχῃ τὸ ἀνάθεμα παρὰ πατρὸς σιοῦ καὶ ὄγιου πνεύματος 1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 619.4–6κακὸν νὰ μὴ σᾶς ἔλθῃ 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1440ἢ γευχὴ τοῇ πανιερότῃ σου νὰ μ' ἀξιώσῃ νὰ ἔρθω 1612, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 5, 173.21–23 pl. Κύριε Θεέ, ... θηρία νὰ μὲ διαμοιραστοῦν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig E* 902–4

+ ἀμποτε

2 sg. ἀμποτε ... νὰ πάρῃς καλορριζικίαν, ἀμποτε καὶ τοῦ στέμματος νὰ γένης κληρονόμος, νὰ μηδὲ πάρῃς θάνατον 15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil. L* 238–433 sg. ἀμποτε νὰ παρακληθῇ 15th c./?12th c., *Dig E* 1353

all pl.	<u>ἄμπτοτε νὰ γράψω, νὰ γράψοις, νὰ γράψοι· ἄμπτοτε νὰ γράψωμεν, νὰ γράψατε, νὰ γράψουν</u>	16th c., SOFIANOS, <i>Grammar</i> 55.16–17
+ μακάρι		
2 sg.	<u>μαγάρι νὰ βρησ στράτα</u>	17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, <i>Katz.</i> IV.214
3 sg.	<u>μακάρι μὴ λουρδίζεται μετὰ [δισ]σὰ ματίτσια</u>	13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, <i>Stichoi</i> 241
	<u>μακάρι μὴ νοήσῃ</u>	14th c./12th c., <i>Ptoch.</i> IV 420
	<u>μαγάρι ἔδα νὰ συβαστῇ, μαγάρι νὰ τὸ θέλη, μαγάρι ἐσένα ... γυναίκα νὰ σοῦ μέλλῃ</u>	18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, <i>Erot.</i> V.227–8

NOTES

- (i) The negative μή(ν) may sometimes be used without a preceding νά, as in the examples with μακάρι above and often also in 1 sg./pl. wishes, where the “strong” negative οὐ μή(ν) can be employed; since οὐ μή(ν) is also used in strong denials (cf. Rule (7) NOTE (iii)), the reader must be alert to the requirements of the context:

καὶ οὐ μὴ μεμφθῶ τέως εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῆς ἀγιωσύνης σου	12th c./11th c., NIKON, <i>Logos</i> 9 312.4–5
καὶ οὐ μὴ χαρῶ τὴν περισσήν ἀγάπην ἔδική σου	15th c./?12th c., <i>Dig.</i> E 908
μαντάτον οὐ μὴ μάθωμεν, δταν σᾶς θέλουν σφάξει	15th c./14th c., <i>Pol. Tr.</i> 1441
φύγε ἀπὸ τὰ ὅμματια μου καὶ μὴν σὲ ἴδω πλέον	17th c., VENETZAS, <i>Varl. & Ioas.</i> 37.21–3

- (ii) The aorist (perfective) subjunctive is far more common in wishes than the present (imperfective) subjunctive, which occurs regularly only with verbs that lack an aorist stem or at least make little use of their aorist stem.
- (iii) Given the semantic overlaps (cf. Rule (15) NOTE (ii)), ἄς sometimes appears in place of νά, though it is often impossible to discriminate between a wish and an expression of permission/encouragement:

ἄς γένεται κατάθεσις μὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν φόβον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7921

(21) Less hopeful wishes for the future and counterfactual wishes for the present and past use νά + the imperfect/aorist indicative (see Rule (10)) or νά + one of the infinitival conditional periphrases (see Rule (9)). The negative is μή(ν), and the particle νά may be omitted when the negative is present; once again, ἄμπτοτε(s) or μακάρι(ον) may be prefixed.

νά + Past Indicative

imperf. 1 sg.	<u>νὰ ἔξευρα πιόν τὴν σωτηριάν</u>	16th c./?15th–16th c., Cypr. <i>Canz.</i> 100.31
imperf. 2 sg.	<u>σ' τούτους τοὺς γάμους νὰ σου, νὰ θώρεις τὰ παλάτια σου, νὰ βλεπτες τὰ παιδιά σου</u>	17th c., TROILOS, <i>Rodol.</i> IV.83–4

imperf. 3 sg.	<u>γὰ ἤσουν πούπτετες</u>	17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., <i>Ist. Vlach.</i> 1531
imperf. 3 pl.	<u>γὰ γιαγέρνασι οἱ χρόνοι οἱ περασμένοι</u>	17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, <i>Panor.</i> I.255
aor. 1 sg.	<u>σήμερον γὰ ἀπόθανα</u>	15th c./?12th c., <i>Dig.</i> E 159
aor. 3 sg.	<u>ὁ Θεός μὴ τὸ ἔποικεν</u>	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 5368
	<u>καὶ ὁ Κύριος νὰ ἀφῆκε ζωὴ του χρόνους πολλούς</u>	1383, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 89, 98.1–4
	<u>νὰ μοῦ ἔποικεν</u> ὁ Θεός ἐτουτηνάν τὴν χάριν	15th c., <i>Peri xen.</i> 237

νά + Conditional Periphrasis

2 sg.	<u>νά ἔχεις μ' ἀφῆσειν πάντα κοιμισμένοι</u>	16th c./?15th–16th c., Cypr. <i>Canz.</i> 12.11
	<u>νὰ ἥθελες ἐβλέπη τόσα κακά ποῦ κάμνουσιν ... τότε νὰ ἥθελες ίδει, νὰ ἥθελες πιστεύσῃ, τούς ἀτυχούς ἥθελες ξολοθρεύσῃ</u>	17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., <i>Ist. Vlach.</i> 1531–4
3 sg.	<u>νά ἔχειν ἀστράψει</u> ὁ οὐρανός, <u>νά ἔχει καγῆν</u> ἡ ὥρα ὅταν ἐμένα ἐγένησεν ἡ ταπεινή μου μάνα	15th c., <i>Peri xen.</i> 186–7
	<u>νά ἔχειν βρεθῆν</u> κακόν θεργιόν, ἐκεῖνον <u>νά ἔχειν φάγειν</u>	17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., <i>Ist. Makaritou Marko</i> 70
+ ἄμπτοτε		
1 pl.	<u>ἄμπτοτε νὰ ἀξιώθημεν</u> καὶ ἡμεῖς νὰ ἐπηγαίναμεν ἐκεῖ ... καὶ <u>νὰ ζώσαμεν</u> ἐκείνην τὴν μακαρίαν ζωὴν ... καὶ <u>νὰ ἐβλέπαμεν</u> ἐκεῖνο τὸ φῶς	16th c., PAPA-LAVR., <i>Diigisis</i> (Meteoron) 106.31–8

+ μακάρι(ον)

2 sg.	<u>μακάριον</u> τε τὸ χάλασες, <u>νὰ τὸ ἔχεις ἀφανίσει</u>	16th c./15th c., <i>Deft. Par.</i> 271
	<u>μαγάρι</u> καὶ πρωτύτερας <u>νὰ θελες μοῦ γρικήσει</u>	17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, <i>Katz.</i> II.319

NOTES

- (i) These wishes all take the form of conditional protases where the εἰχα + infinitive periphrasis found a natural home (see 3.3), thus making it the preferred option when an infinitival periphrasis is employed.
- (ii) Once again, ἄς may sometimes be substituted for νά:

ἄς εἶχα μάτια σκοτεινά ... καὶ ἄς εἶχα σιδερή καρδιά

17th c./16th–17th c., THYSIA AVR. 209–10

2 Complement Clauses

Subordinate clauses may function either as complements (elements whose presence is required by the main verb) or as adjuncts (modifying adverbial or adjectival elements whose presence is optional, see Chapter 3), and may be marked as such in various ways (e.g. through the use of a particular conjunction, mood or verb form). This chapter deals with clauses that complement various verb classes.

2.1 Verbs of “Reporting” and “Declaring”

(22) After verbs that report a speech, emotional response or perception, declare a belief or attest to knowledge (e.g. “say”, “announce”, “rejoice”, “hear”, “see”, “think”, “believe”, “learn”, “know” etc.) the regular form of sentential complementation in LMedG/EMG is a finite clause introduced by the complementizers *ὅτι* or *πώς* (in early or more learned texts sometimes also *ὡς*).

Such clauses normally contain either a past- or present-tense form of the indicative, or a future-referring or conditional verb form.

The tense of the “original” direct speech may always be retained, but the time reference of the verb in a complement clause may optionally be aligned to that of a past-tense main verb (*consecutio temporum* or “sequence of tenses”).

The tense of the verb in the complement clause is given before each set of examples below.

Non-past Main Verb

Future

Θαρροῦμεν ὡς ίνα ἐλθῇ ὁ αὐτός κύριος Μιχαήλ

14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.4

Present

ἡξεύρετε ὅτι οἱ φρερήδες ... εύρισκουνται ἔσσω τοῦ ἀφέντη!

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 4.10–11

ἡξευρε πώς ἐγώ διγομάζομαι ὁ δὸν Κιστίτης τῆς Μαντίσας 18th c., DON KIS. 51.12–13

Aorist

γίνωσκε ... ὅτι οὐκ ἐγένετο ποτὲ δοῦλος πολλῶν κυρίων

15th c./12th c., Ptoch. (Maiuri) 14–15

δομολογᾶ ... πώς ἐπῆρε καὶ ἐπαράλαβε ... ὑπέρπυρα ὀκτώ

1623, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1998: 6, 312.1–2

Tense of Original Retained after Past-Tense Main Verb

Future

εἶπαν ... ὅτι νὰ πᾶσιν ... εἰς τὴν αὐλήν τῆς ρήγαινας καὶ νὰ σκοτώσουν τὸν κοντοστάβλην 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 56.15–17

ἔθιστοισέν τον ὅτι νὰ μὲν θελήσει ποτέ νὰ ποίσει τίτοιον κακόν 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 34.6–7

ἔθαρροῦσεν δ ὀρχιμανδρίτης πώς ... νὰ μᾶς φοβερίσει 1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.127–9

Present

ἔχαρετο ὅτι εἴν' ἔμορφος, μετὰ τῆς ποθητῆς του 15th c./12th c., DIG. E 596
ἔγροικησε ὅτι ἔχει τὴ χάρην αὐτή 16th c., NOV. II 161.12

Aorist

καὶ εἶπαν του πώς δ Θούμας ἔπέψεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 4.17

Conditional

ἔμάθαμεν πώς τὸ ... καράβι νὰ ἐπινήκεν καὶ εἶχαμεν φορτώσει εἰς αὐτὸ μαλλιά ...
καὶ ὑστερα ἀκούσαμε πώς νὰ ἔβγαλαν τὰ πράγματα δλα 1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 17, 217.6–9

δ δεύτερος συγγραφεύς δὲν ἐπίστευσε πώς νὰ μὴν ἐπερίγραψαν ... τοιαύτην περιεργον ἴστοριαν 18th c., DON KIS. 53.12–14

Tense of Original Backshifted after Past-Tense Main Verb (*consecutio temporum*)

Aorist > Pluperfect

ηὔρασιν ὅτι εἶχαν πλέον κερδίσει 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 650

Present > Imperfect

ἔδειχνεν ὅτι αὔξαινε δ σπόρος του τὴν νύκταν 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N DIAITH. 334.41–2
ἔγράψασι μου ... πώς ἔθαρροῦσεν δ ὀρχιμανδρίτης 1709, Chios, PAPASTRATOU 1981: 34, 137.127–9

NOTES

(i) As expected, the meaning of verb forms marked with *νὰ* in a *ὅτι/πώς* clause is often indeterminate between simple future “will/would” and modal “may/might”, “can/could”, “shall/should” (see 1.2.2).

(ii) With frequently occurring verbs, and particularly with *λέ(γ)ω*, the complementizer may be omitted:

νὰ λέουν δικάποιος φτωχός ... ἐνίκησεν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν ἀδελφὸν ... 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5008–9

φαίνεται τον στὸ σπίτιν του εύρισκεται ἀπέσω 15th c., PERI XEN. 34
καὶ εἶπεν, κερδάσινε τὴν ἀραβῶνα 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. O 86.2–3

καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγουν θὲ νὰ ὑποκλιθοῦν εἰς τὸ κοινόβιον

1615, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 6, 175.56–7

- (iii) Occasionally in negated future complements the expected *νά* is absent (cf. Chapter 1, Rules (14) and (20) plus NOTES for similar omissions in negative prohibitions and wishes):

μηνοῦμε σας ὅτι ... μηδὲν σουφριάσετε κανένα μας δόφισιάλην

1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULOS 1983: 7, 7.1–2

- (23) It is common in later LMedG and EMG (ca. 15th c. onwards) for an *ὅτι/πώς* complement to be replaced by an indicative clause conjoined with *καὶ*.

This may represent an extension of the semantically natural use of conjoined clauses with control verbs in order to emphasize the actual occurrence of an otherwise merely potential consequence of the action of the main verb (for which see Rule (26)).

But there is no inherent consequentiality in *ὅτι/πώς* complements and this type is perhaps better understood as involving omission of the complementizer (cf. Rule (22) NOTE (ii)) with partial grammaticalization of intensifying *καὶ* “actually”: cf. *μηδὲ θαρρῆς πώς ... κι' ήμουνα κοιμισμένη*, “don't think I was actually asleep”, CHORTATSI, Katz II.161–2.

ἀθθυμοῦμαι τὸν βισκούντην, τὸν πράχτοραν καὶ τὰ δελοιπά ἕφικκια καὶ δὲν τ'
ἀλλάξαν ποττέ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 78.27–8

δὲ θέλειν τὸ προβιάσειν ποττέ τινάς καὶ ἔγυρέψα νὰ ποίσω τιτοῖον πρᾶμα
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 60.19

δὲν λέγω καὶ κλινίσκει σας ἡ πεῖνα τῶν θεϊκῶν λογί(ων) 16th c., Pist. kekoim. 11–12
ηὔρε καὶ ἤτονε γεννημένος ὁ Κύριος ήμῶν Ἱησοῦς Χριστός
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 329.23

NOTES

- (i) In the vast majority of cases the subject of the subordinate clause is referentially distinct from that of the main clause.
(ii) In later texts this construction is particularly frequent with “factive” verbs of perception or discovery (see Rules (24) and (28)):

ψηλαφώντας την ἡβλέπει καὶ ἔναι παρθένος ωσπερ ἥτον
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 329.35–6

τὸ (παιδί) ηὔρανε καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν πολλὰ μέλλοντα πράγματα
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 335.17–18

τὴν εἶδα δψεις κι' ἐθώρειε σε
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Katz II.93

ἔλαν δῆ καὶ ἔξετάσῃ καὶ εἴναι ἔτι ή ἀλήθεια
1661, Naxos, KEFALLINIADIS 1974/78: 4, 423.12

- (24) Verbs of knowledge, perception and emotional response (e.g. “know”, “learn”, “see”, “hear”, “be ashamed”, “rejoice”, “regret” etc.) are “factive” verbs that presuppose the speaker's/writer's belief in the truth of their complements. In EMG factivity may be marked by the use of the complementizer (*ὅτι*-πού).

With perception verbs factivity is dependent on direct as opposed to indirect perception, contrast *X heard Y happening* with *X heard that Y was happening*.

θυμάστεν ποὺ δειλιάζετε σὲ πόλεμον νὰ βγῆτε;

16th c., Alex. Rim. 1759

ἥξεύρετε ὅπού τὸ ἔχει ὁ κόσμος καὶ οἱ ἐδικοὶ του συνήθεια

16th c., PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron) 105.24

καὶ συπάθησέ μου το ποὺ σοῦ τὸ γραφω

1612, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 5, 173. 21

εἶδα την ποὺ καθότουνε καὶ τὴν Εύγένα ἔκρατει

17th c., MONTSEL., Evgena 190

τὸ χω μεγάλο παράπονο ὅπου οἱ ἄλλοι πραγματευτάδες ἔλαβαν γραφὴν ἀπὸ τοὺς Κοθωναίους

1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 19, 218.3–4

ἥξεύρετε καλὰ ὅπού ἔγυρίσαμεν δλην τὴν οἰκουμένην 18th c./17th c., Alex. Fyll. 114.29

NOTE

- (i) Verbs of perception and emotional response are also used as control verbs, see Rule (28).

2.2 Control Predicates

- (25) Verbs meaning “want”, “try”, “dare”, “ask”, “allow”, “expect”, “order”, “make” etc. require complements denoting prospective/potential activities. In LMedG the complement may take the form of a bare infinitive, either present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective). Negation is of the main verb.

The subject of the infinitive is obligatorily “missing” and its content is “controlled” by the subject or, if the verb is transitive, the object of the main verb; i.e. the reference, grammatical case, person, number and gender of the main-clause subject/object are automatically adopted by the missing subject and some of these features may be visible if there is an agreeing subject complement.

πολλὰ πολλὰ ἄγαπῶ διὰ πράξεως λαλεῖν τὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον

12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 31 814.1–2

τὶς τῆς καρδιᾶς του τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ἰσχύσῃ καταλέξειν:

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., Eisit. f.7v.3–4

πῶς τὸν παρακαλοῦσιν ... νὰ καταδέξεται γενεῖ εἰς αὐτοὺς καπτετᾶνος

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 233–6

εἴτις δὲ βουληθῆ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν, νὰ ἔνι ἀσυγχώρητος

14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

τὸ ὠραιόκαρπον ... δένδρον τὸ ὑψηλότατον ὅποιο σᾶς εἶπε φεύγειν

15th c., CHOUMNOS, Kosmog. 69–70

NOTES

- (i) The overwhelming majority of infinitival examples in the database involve subject control.
(ii) By the later medieval period the set of verbs of this class taking an infinitival complement is greatly reduced, essentially to verbs expressing “wish” or “desire”:

εἴτις δὲ βουληθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν, νὰ ἔνι ἀσυγχώρητος
14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15
οὔτε βουλόμεθα ἀναδέξασθαι πλέον γουμάριν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: [α'], 292.18–19

καὶ ἀν τὸν θέλης ἀγαπᾶ, φρόντιζε τὴν ψυχή σου
17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2015

(iii) Occasionally, the infinitival complement is nominalized with the genitive of the definite article (*τοῦ*). This may represent an extension of the ancient use of the genitive articlar infinitive to express purpose, itself an extension of the original adnominal use after nouns expressing “wish”, “desire” etc.:

παρακαλῶ τὴν κόρτην ... τοῦ κατελῆναι ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν τόπον καὶ μαθεῖν τὴν
ἀλήθειαν
1224, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 30, 447.5–7

οἷος γοῦν βουλεθῇ τοῦ ἀνατρέψαι αὐτούς
?1358, ?Macedonia, LEMERLE 1988: App. II C, 231.11

εἰ θέλετε τοῦ ζῆν, φύγετε, μήν σταθῆτε
16th c./14th c., *Synax. gadar.* 41
τῆνρα δεντρὸν ἔξαίρετον καὶ ὠρέχθην τοῦ πεζεύσειν
16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* V 20

(26) More usually, LMedG/EMG employs finite clauses containing *νά* + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive (negative *μή(ν)*) to complement “control” verbs, and this has become the norm in the later medieval period.

Since such clauses lack an overt complementizer, the particle–verb combination typically follows the governing verb directly in order to mark its connection.

The meaning of some main verbs may allow for non-coreferential subjects in the finite subordinate clause: contrast *X persuaded Y that Z should do something* with *X persuaded Y that s/he (= Y) should do something*.

When the subject is coreferential it is omitted but agrees with its controller in person, number and gender, as shown by verbal agreement and (if present) subject complements.

ἐπρόσταξα καὶ προστάσσω πρὸς σὲ ... ίνα μὴ ἔχης ἔξουσίαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην
μονήν
1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16

οὐκ ἤθελαν ν' ἀφῆσουσιν τοὺς Φράγκους νὰ ἀπεράσουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 409

εἰς τρία ἀλλάγια τοὺς ἔποικεν νὰ είναι χωρισμένοι
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5679

ῆλθε καρός ... νὰ παρακαλέσουσιν ... τὴν κυρίαν, νὰ δεηθῇ πρὸς κύριον τοῦ νὰ
μᾶς δώσῃ νίκος
16th c./15th c., ALOYSIS 288–95

ἀλλὰ δὲν τὸν ἐπει ποτὲ ὁ λογισμός του νὰ γένη κακός ἀνθρωπος
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.2–3

τὸ χάρισμα δόπο 'χω 'γώ δὲ θέλω νὰ τὸ κρύψω, ζῶντα μου θέλω κανενὸς γὰ τοῦ τ'
ἀποκαλύψω
16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 276B

καὶ τοὺς ἔβαλε νὰ κόγουνε ἀτοί τους τὰ παιδία τους
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Sout.* 25.8

οἱ Ἱερεῖς δὲν ξεύρουσι τὰ βρέφη νὰ βαπτίσουν

17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2201

λέγοντάς μου ίνα τοῦ ποιήσων τὴν μπαρούσαν κοντραντίζιόν

1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.1–2

NOTES

(i) If the meaning of the main verb permits, the *νά*-clause may also contain a past indicative:

ἀν ἤθελα λεπτῶς νὰ σὲ τὰ ἔγραψα δλα ... πολλὰ ἤθέλαν βαρεθῇ ἐκεῖνοι δπου τὸ
ἀκοῦσιν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2816–18

“if I were to have written it all in detail for you, my listeners would be very bored”

(ii) The lack of an overt complementizer in *νά*-clauses may be “remedied” in a number of ways, often (though not exclusively) when there is a gap between the main verb and its complement:

- (a) with *ὅτι/πώς* (as with verbs of “reporting” etc., see Rule (22))
- (b) with *διά/γιά* (otherwise used with *νά* in final clauses, see 3.1)
- (c) with *τοῦ* (as used with infinitives, see Rule (25) NOTE (iii))

With *ὅτι/πώς*

αὐτὸς ὁ σκύλος ... δὲν ἤθελεν πώς νὰ τὸν προσκυνήσει
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 339.9–10

ἐπαρακάλεσεν ... τὸν πατριάρχην ... ὅτι νὰ κάμουν δέστιν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.7–9

δίδει ἀουτοριτάν ... ὅτι νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ τὴνε ντεφεντέρῃ
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–7

With *διά/γιά*

ἵθελα διὰ νὰ τὸν ἔρωτήσω τίς ἔναι καὶ πόθεν ἔνι ὁ ἀνθρωπος
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv.* E 18–19

εἴπε διὰ ν' ἀρχίσουν οἱ σάλπιγγες γιὰ νὰ λαλοῦν
16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 845–6

τάσσει ... νὰ κάμη τὸ Γιάννη Τουρκογιάννη ... γιὰ νὰ σπείρου ὄμάδι ... τὰ
χωράφια
1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.10–11

With *τοῦ*

οὐδὲν ἀφῆναν γάρ ἐσάς ... τοῦ νὰ κρατῆτε ἐδῶ προνοῖς
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2695–6

δρεῖν εἶχε πάμπολλην τοῦ νὰ περιπατήσῃ
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 81

(27) A *νά*-complement is often replaced by a clause with an indicative verb apparently conjoined with *καὶ*.

This may once again involve omission of the complementizer and partial grammaticalization of intensifying *καὶ* (cf. Rule (23)). But here the consequential relationship between the action of the main verb and that of the complement allows naturally for conjunction,

especially when there is emphasis on the actual occurrence of an otherwise merely projected/anticipated consequence: contrast *X commanded and Y (actually) carried out the order* with *X commanded Y to carry out the order*.

δ Θεός ἐπρόσταξεν καὶ ἤλθε τοῦ ροΐ Κάρλου ή ἀφεντία

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6279–80

ὅρισεν καὶ ἤλθασιν οἱ πρώτοι τῆς βουλῆς του

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7828

εἰπέτε τί σᾶς ἔκαμα καὶ εἴστεν λυπημένοι

16th c., *Alex. Rim.* 1752

ἔβαλα τὸν ἄνωθεν παπά καὶ ἔγραψεν μὲ τὴν ἴδιαν του χέρα

1612, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 779, 677–8.61

NOTES

- (i) As with instances of *καὶ* replacing δτ/πώς (see Rule (23)), the vast majority of examples have non-coreferential subjects in the main and subordinate clauses (i.e. the substitution normally involves examples that would otherwise exhibit object control).
- (ii) Very occasionally the indicative follows asyndetically:

τοὺς Βενετίκους ἀφησαν τὴν θάλασσαν φυλάττουν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 640

ὅρισε ἡφέρασιν τὸ σγιον εὐαγγέλιον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7929

- (28) Factive verbs (cf. rule (24)) meaning “see”, “hear”, “sense”, “find” etc. may also function as control verbs taking a νά-complement.

The subjunctive is normally present (imperfective), marking the ongoing nature of the activity perceived. But an aorist (perfective) subjunctive may be used when the sense requires it: contrast *X heard Y do Z* (potentially perfective) with *X heard Y doing Z*.

Present Subjunctive

καὶ ἀν εὑρωμεν τὸν βασιλέα εἰς κάμπον ν' ἀναμένη ... τὸν θέλομεν πολεμήσει
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3650–1

καὶ τώρα βλέπουν σε γυμνή νὰ εἴσαι τροπιασμένη
16th c., *DEFAR., Sos.* 222 (Holton)

Aorist Subjunctive

εἶχεν μέγαν διλίτιν νὰ τοῦ γροικήσῃ νὰ τραγουδήσῃ
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 109.4–5

εἶδαμε στὴ χώρα μας Πέρσοι νὰ μποῦσι τόσοι
17th c., *TROILOS, Rodol.* V.156

NOTES

- (i) As with other control verbs (cf. Rule (27)), the νά-complement may be replaced with an indicative clause conjoined with *καὶ*:

νεκρὸν εἶδα κ' ἐκείτετον
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 23

εἶδαν τὸν Δημήτριον ζωντανὸν καὶ ἐκάθετον
16th c., *PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis* (Meteoron) 106.14–15

τὴν εἶδα ὁψὲς κι' ἐθώρειε σε
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSIK, Katz* II.94

τὸν εἶδε καὶ ἐπέργα, τὸν ἐπαρακάλεσε νὰ μὴν τὸν ἀπαντονάρη
17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Iosas.* 39.34–5

- (ii) In LMedG factive verbs of emotional response such as “be ashamed” may also take νά-complements (though none of the examples in the database involve coreferential subjects):

οὐκ αἰσχύνεσαι ... νὰ γαμῇ τὸ μουνίν σου παπᾶς;

14th c./12th c., *TZETZES, Epil. Theogon.* 21

οὐδὲν ἐντρέπεστε ποσῶς νὰ παῖζωμε ὡς κοπέλια;

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5394

- (29) Modal verbs (expressing “ability/possibility” or “necessity”) and verbs of aspectual specification (“start/continue/stop” [doing X]) are complemented either by bare infinitives or, beginning in the 14th c., by νά-clauses.

These verbs all *modify* the activities denoted by their complements rather than denoting distinct actions in their own right.

Modal verbs may be personal or impersonal, aspectual verbs are personal; in personal use all these verbs involve subject control.

Νά is normally followed by a subjunctive, but modals may also take νά + a past-tense indicative when the situation described is hypothetical/counterfactual.

Aspectual verbs take an imperfective verb form in their complement because the modified activity is necessarily viewed imperfectively, i.e. is never bounded by both a beginning and an end to form a complete whole (as required for an aorist/perfective to be used).

Modal Verbs

Ability/Possibility + Infinitive

καὶ ψηλαφῶντες ἀκριβῶς οὐκ ἡμποροῦν τὴν εὔρειν
15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 124

τὸ κάλλιον καὶ διαφορικόν, ὅπου ἔχομεν ποιήσει, ἔνι γάρ νὰ ἀπέλθωμεν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3647–8

ἄλλα πλεῖστα πράγματα τὰ οὐκ ἡμπορῶ σᾶς γράψει
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7802
εὶς ἡμπορέσῃ, δυνηθῇ συμπεθερίαν ποιήσει ... νὰ ἐπάρῃ διεύθιστος γάρ τοῦ ρηγὸς τὴν θυγατέρα ἐκείνου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6285–7

κανεὶς οὐδὲν ἐμπόρειεν ἀναδεῖξαι τὴν εύμορφίαν τοῦ παραδείσου
15th c., *Hist. Imp.* I 82–3

Necessity + Infinitive

οὐ γάρ εἴν ἀνάγκη ... περὶ πίστεως δογματίζειν
12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 312.23

ἀλλὰ πρότερον ὄφελομεν τρέχειν
ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN* 1981: 244.609

διλίτιος ἀνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7571

NOTE

- (i) Infinitival complements may sometimes be nominalized with the genitive of the definite article, as with other control verbs (see Rule (25) NOTE (iii)):

δὲν ἡμπορῶ τοῦ γράφειν
15th c., *Peri xen.* 356

πῶς καὶ πότε ἡφάνισεν ἐξαπορῶ τοῦ γράφει
16th c./15th c., *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 14

Ability/Possibility + νά-clause

οὐκ εἶχεν γάρ νὰ μάχεται μὲ ἀνθρωπὸν τοῦ κόσμου	14th c., Chron. Mor. H 3144
ἀλλὰ ποσῶς οὐκ ἐμπορεῖ ἵνα τοὺς περικόψῃ	15th c., Chron. Toc. 660
ἐμήνυσεν ... πᾶς νὰ μπορήσῃ ν' ὀφεντεύσῃ τὸν λαόν	16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 22.21-2
τοὺς ποίους δὲν εἶναι νὰ τοὺς ἀνοματίσω	16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 50.13-14
νὰ τοὺς διώξου μπορετὸ δὲν εἶναι τῶν ἀθρώπων	17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Erof. I.198
τώρα μπορὰ (< μπορεῖ νὰ) καυχοῦμαι	17th c., BOUNIALIS M., Diig. Pol. 577.25

Necessity + νά-clause

ἔπρεπε σὲ τὸ πρόβατον νὰ μὴ μᾶς λοιδορήσῃς	15th c./14th c., Diig. tetr. 458
ἔπρεπέ τον νὰ φόρεσε μαντὶ καὶ καμηλαύχι	16th c., Kakop. 127

Verbs of Aspectual Specification

+ Infinitive

ἀρχασεν οὕτως λέγει του	14th c., Chron. Mor. H 233
ἀφίνω ἔδω λέγειν καὶ ἀφηγᾶσται διὰ τὸν Γουλιάμον πρίγκιπα	14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5922-3
δ ῥῆγας ἄρξετον λαλεῖ τῆς ρήγαινας	14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7118

NOTE

- (i) The infinitive may occasionally be nominalized with the definite article, either accusative τό or genitive τοῦ (cf. Modal verbs NOTE (i) above):
- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| καὶ ἤρξαντο τοῦ παίζειν | 16th c./14th-15th c., Achil. O 180 |
| πουρνὸν τὸ τρέχειν ἥρχισα | 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, Apok. V 11 |
| προυνὸν τοῦ τρέχειν ἥρχισα | 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, Apok. A 11 |
| λοιπὸν τὸ τρέχειν ἔπαισα ... καὶ τὸ σπουδάζειν | 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, Apok. A 15 |

+ νά-clause

δ ῥῆγας ἄρξετον λαλεῖ τῆς ρήγαινας νὰ λέγῃ, τοῦ νὰ ἔπαινῃ τὸν πρίγκιπα	14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7118-19
παύομαι ἔδω νὰ λέγω	14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7955
ἀρχίζοντας νὰ βουλᾶ	17th c., KALLIOUP., Kaini Diath. Matth. 14.30

NOTES

- (i) As with other control verbs (see Rule (26) NOTE (i)) the absence of a complementizer in the νά-clause is sometimes “remedied” (often after a gap), in this case with διά/γά or τοῦ:
- ἔξηγήθην ... πᾶς ἄρχισεν τὰ ἐπάσχισεν τοῦ νὰ μὲ ὀφηγᾶται
- 15th c./13th-14th c., Liv. E 3778-80

εἶπε διὰ ν' ἄρχισουν οἱ σάλπιγγες γιὰ νὰ λαλοῦν, διὰ νὰ πολεμήσουν

16th c., Alex. Rim. 845-6

- (ii) As with other control verbs (see Rule (27)), a νά-clause after verbs meaning “begin” is often replaced by an indicative clause conjoined with καὶ:

ἄρχισαν καὶ ἐρχόντησαν κ' ἐπροσκυνοῦσαν ὅλοι

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1640

ἄρχάζουν οἱ ἀπαντες ... καὶ κάμηνουσιν τὰ ὅματζια στὸν πρίγκιπαν

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7889-90

τούτη ἡ εἰκόνα ἄρχισε καὶ ἔχαλάτον

16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 333.39-40

ἄρχισε καὶ ἔβγανε φωνές

16th c., PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron) 106.26

ἄρχισαμεν καὶ ἐπεριπατούσαμεν ὡς πρὸς τὰς Ἀνατολάς

16th c., PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron) 108.24-5

- (iii) Occasionally the indicative verb form follows asyndetically, and in this case an aorist (perfective) may be used if the process of inception is treated as a separate event, e.g. “X began and (then) did Y”:

ἐκ τὴν χολήν του τὴν πολλὴν ἄρχισε ἔχαιμογέλα

15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1401

ἄρχισεν ἔξεβαινεν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία

15th c., Chron. Toc. 155

ἄρχισαν ἐτζακίσασιν τὰ σπίτια, τὰ σεντούκια

15th c., Chron. Toc. 658

2.3 Verbs of “Fearing” and “Precaution”

- (30) Future-referring complements to verbs of “fearing” etc. are introduced by the “modal” negatives μή(ν)/μηδέν or μήπως καὶ + present (imperfective) or aorist (perfective) subjunctive; the negative is οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν.

φοβεῖ σε μὴ ἔλθῃ μήνυμα

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 150

ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι ... μὴ οὐκ ἔνι εἰς ἀρεστόν σου

13th-14th c./?12th c., Dig. G II.115

εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον μὴ πιάσῃ καὶ τυφλώσῃ τον, εἰς φυλακὴν τὸν βάλῃ

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4891-2

δ νοῦς μου σ' ἔγνοια μπάινει μὴν εἶν' κιανεῖς στὸ σπίτι της

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Katz. II.94-5

στέκει ... μ' ἔγνοια πολλὰ μεγάλη μὴ λάχει νὰ τοι βρούστινε

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Erof. III.137-8

φοβούμενη μήπως καὶ καλέσῃ τηνε δ Θ(εός)

1596, Crete, CHAIROTI 1969: 1, 164.5-6

ἔχοντας ρεσπέτο ... μήπως καὶ δώσου του ... πειράζῃ

1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202.4-203.5

ἔσκιάκτη μήπως καὶ ἔλθῃ δ Σακούκος δ Περσιάνος καὶ τόνε βάλῃ διπρός

17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soutl. 39.26

φοβοῦμαι μὴν δὲν θέλη αὐτός

17th c., MONTSEL., Evgena 443

φυλάγου τήνε λια μήπως καὶ πέσῃ σ' ἔρωτα καὶ σᾶς ἀποιεχάσῃ

17th c., PETRITSIS, Dig. O 48

NOTES

(i) The same construction is used with verbs of "hindrance":

ξυπόδιε, Χριστέ μου, μὴ παίξῃ κοντογύρισμα καὶ ἐπάρῃ τὸ ραβδίν μου καὶ δώσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ με στραβόν παρὰ διαβόλου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 175–8

(ii) Very rarely the negative particle μή(v) is preceded by νά:

φοβοῦμαι νά μήν πάθῃ τίβοτις 1584, Italy, PAPADOPOULOS 1978: 1, 318.10

(iii) Fears relating to the past involve the use of past-tense indicatives:

φοβοῦμαι νά μήν τόχασσα, temo haverlo perso 17th c., GERMANO, *Grammar* 85.25–6

2.4 Verbs Taking Indirect Questions

(31) Indirect questions are introduced by an expression containing/consisting of an appropriate interrogative pronoun or adverb (constituent questions) or by the conditional conjunctions εἰ/ἴαν/ἄν (yes/no questions); variant forms of the latter include ἀνὲν καὶ (< ἄν ἔναι καὶ) and ἀνίσως καὶ (< ἄν ἴσως καὶ).

It is typical of earlier or more formal texts, as is the restriction of ἔάν/ἄν to future-referring clauses containing a subjunctive verb; the generalized use of ἔάν/ἄν is typical of later and more vernacular texts.

The verb is indicative, future/modal or conditional, normally retaining the tense of the "original" direct question after a past-tense main verb (i.e. there is no sequence of tense requirement, cf. Rule (22) for indirect statements).

Subjunctives are used without νά in embedded future-referring yes/no questions (cf. 3.3 on conditional clauses).

The examples below are grouped according to the tense of the embedded question (that of the corresponding direct question in each case).

Constituent Questions

Future/Modal

βουλὴν ἔζητησεν ... τοῦ νά τὸν συμβουλέψουν περὶ ... τοῦ Μορέως πῶς νά τὸν κυβερνήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7829–30

οὐδὲν ἤξεύρω τὸ σιτάρι ποῦ να καταβαίνῃ ἀπὸ τὸ Λεοντάρι 1431, Ragusa, LAMBROS 1930: 29.21–2

τί νά εἰπῶ καὶ τί νά ἀφήσω δὲν κατέχω 17th c., *Diig. Sant.* 56.63–4

Present

ἥθελα διά νά τὸν ἐρωτήσω τίς ἔναι καὶ πόθεν ἔνι ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ τί ναι τὸ στενάζει 15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv. E* 18–19

εἰντα μιλοῦσι τὰ πουλιά ξεύρει 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor. I*.267

Aorist

ἔξεθύμανεν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας πῶς τες ἀφησαν καὶ ἔκαμαν τοιοῦτον μέγα πρᾶγμα 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 247.12–13

κατέχεις ... πόσα κακά ἐποίησα

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 40.30

Yes/No Questions

Future/Modal

τὸν κάμπον νά τηρήσω, ἄν ἔν καὶ εύρω πούπετε τόπον ν' ἀποκουμπήσω

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 13–14

Present

ἐπροέγραψα τῆς πανιερότη σου ... ἄν ἔναι νά μᾶς ἔγβάλης ἔνα ματάτο

1612, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 5, 173.23–4

μὲ ἐρώτησε ἀνισώς καὶ ἔχουν νά κάμουν ἀγάπην μὲ τοὺς Πολονέζους

1654, Stockholm, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 57.20–1

Aorist

λεπτομερῶς τούς ἐρωτᾶ ἄν ηὔραν τὴν δρεξίν τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 385–6

NOTES

(i) It is common in more vernacular texts for constituent indirect questions to be nominalized with τό:

ώς εἶδεν τοῦτον ὁ ἀμιράς, ἃκο τὸ τίντα λέγει

15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 517

καὶ τότε δίδουν τὴν βουλὴν τὸ ποῦ νά πᾶν νά κλέψουν

15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 81

ἔπεσεν εἰς λογισμὸν μέγα, τὸ πῶς νά ποιήσῃ νά μηδὲν ἐντροπιαστῇ

16th c., *Diig. Alex. K* 361.27–8

(ii) Οὐκ/(οὐ)δὲν ἔχω ("I am at a loss") is commonly used to introduce "deliberative" indirect questions containing an infinitive (well attested in this function to the end of the period of this Grammar) or, in later texts, a future/modal verb form marked with νά:

Infinitive

καὶ τί φορεῖν οὐκ ἔχω

12th c., *Ptoch. III* 231

τὸ τί ποιήσει οὐκ εἰχασιν

14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 4084

δὲν ἔχει πῶς κάμει ἀλλέως παρὰ νά πάρῃ τὴν πρελαστιόν

1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 187, 198.4

καὶ δὲν εἰχαμεν ἴντα στιμάρει

1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 676.27

καὶ δὲν εἶχε τί κάμει

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 26.28

νά + Subjunctive

ποῦ νά τῶν δώσῃ δὲν εἶχε πλία

16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok. A* 420

δὲν ἔχουν τὸ ποῦ γράμματα νά μαθαίνουν

17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 2197

3 Adverbial Clauses

Many subordinate clauses function as adjuncts, i.e. as optional adverbial or adjectival constituents of sentences (see 5.3.3 for the latter). This chapter deals specifically with the different types of adverbial clause.

3.1 Final (Purpose) Clauses

(32) Purpose is normally expressed by means of a subjunctive verb form (imperfective or perfective) marked with the particle *ἴνα/vά* placed at the beginning of the final clause; the negative is *μή(v)/μηδέν*, which may itself stand clause-initially without *vά*.

In LMedG the clause as a whole may be nominalized with *τοῦ*.

From ca. 15th c. onwards the particle may be reinforced with *διά/gιά* “for”, or, somewhat earlier but less commonly, *ὅπως* “so (that)”.

Nά is often omitted in negative final clauses, as noted, especially when there is a clear additional nuance of fear or precaution (cf. 2.3).

+ *ἴνα/vά* (omissible in negatives) + Subjunctive

παραβίβαζε τον ... μήνα ... λυτρωθοῦμεν τον γοργόν, νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπῃ
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 525–8

βλέπε εἰς τὸ ἐν μὴ πάθης δέκα
13th c. /?, *Paroim. A* 120

κράτησον τὰ φουσσάτα σου μηδὲν ἔβγουσιν ἔξω
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1117

ἔγραψεν ..., γὰ ίδουσιν τὰ προστάγματα
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7852–4

κ' ἥθελεν ποιήσει ... ἔπαινόν του μέγαν, ... μὴ προῦ διπορθῆση παντελῶς, καὶ χάσουν
τον οἱ Φράγκοι
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 8531–5

ἔξεβη ... ἀπὲ τὴν Λευκωσίαν γὰ πάγη στὴν Γένουβα
1390, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 11, 89.2–3

τὰ κάτεργα ἔκαυσα ἴνα μήν ἔναι ἐπιστροφή
16th c./14th c., *Velis. p* 297

ἐδώκαμεν ... τὸ ἀμπέλιον, ἴνα ἔχῃ αὐτὸ καὶ δεσπόζῃ
14th–15th c., Athos, *LEFORT* et al. 1995: 95, 147.2–3

σὲ τὴν ἐδώκαμεν νὰ χαίρεσαι μὲ ταύτην
16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil. O* 22

+ *τοῦ νά*

καὶ δένει με εἰς τὴν σέλαν μου σφικτὰ τοῦ νὰ μὴ πέσω
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv. E* 3306

3 Adverbial Clauses

1897

μὲ πονηρίαν ἀπόστελνεν τοὺς καταπατητὰδες τοῦ νὰ μαθαίνῃ ... τές τῶν Φραγκῶν
γάρ πρᾶξες
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1049–50

+ διά/γιά νά

καὶ ἐλάλεν τούς το ..., γιά ν' ἀφήσουν τὸν ρήγα εἰς τὴν ἀφεντίαν του
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 50.20–3

ἐπέψεν τούς ἀνθρώπους, διά νὰ πᾶν εἰς τὸ σπίτιν του
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 4.17–18

εἶπεν γιά κεῖνο τὸ κάμνει ..., γιά νὰ μὴ μπορᾶ τὸ κόψη ούδένας
1610, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 662, 576.14–15

δ Θεός ἡθέλησε νὰ φανερώσῃ ... τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅδιά νὰ μὴν ἔχουσιν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς
καμμίαν πρόφασιν
17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Iosas.* 38.26

+ ὅπως νά

τοὺς ἔγραψεν ... ὅπως νὰ καταλάβωσιν ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὴν Κλαρέντσα
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7852–3

ἔθεσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀναγεγραμμένη μονὴ ... ὅπως νὰ ἴερουργάη καὶ ψάλλῃ τὴν
αὐτὴν μονὴ εἰς ὑμνον
1558, Corfu, *KONDYANNIS/KARYDIS* 1994: 2, 649.9–14

NOTES

(i) The genitive of the definite article was used in AG with an infinitive to express purpose, and though LMedG/EMG normally substitutes *νά* + subjunctive for the infinitive, as above, there are some examples of the infinitival construction from LMedG texts:

ἐκεῖσε ἡμπλικεύσασι τοῦ μὴ φανερωθῆναι
13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G II.102*
συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ ὅλοι τοῦ βοηθῆσαι
16th c./14th c., *Velis. p* 316

(ii) In LMedG texts a purpose clause may also be realized by means of *διά* “for” (also *πρός* “towards” and *εἰς* “(in)to”) + a *νά*-clause nominalized with the accusative of the definite article (see also 3.8):

τὸ κατούδιν ... στήσας εἰς τὸ τραπέζιν, διά τὸ νὰ εἰποῦν ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τὴν
ζημίαν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 264–5

(iii) Relative clauses may be given a final sense (“[someone] to do X/who can do X”) through the use of future/modal forms (cf. 5.5):

εἰχασιν δὲ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν, ὅπού νὰ τοὺς τὰ λέγη, τὴν μαῖμοῦ
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 36–7

(iv) Given the inherent sequencing of the events denoted by main and final clauses, something of the effect of a final clause may be achieved through coordination with *καὶ*; this is particularly common when the purpose is fulfilled and with verbs of “coming” and “going” (cf. s/he went and did X):

τὸ πράγμα σου ἀσφάλιζε καὶ τὸν γείτονά σου κλέπτην μὴν τὸν κάμης
16th c./?, *Paroim. H* 55

- ώσαν ἥλθαν καὶ τὸν ἐπροσκύνησαν, λέγει 16th c., *Varl. & Ioas.* (Lavras) 75.18–21
ηὔρε καὶρό δὲ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζήτης καὶ τοὺς ἐζήτησε τὸ κάστρο
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.10–13
ἐπήγασι καὶ ἔχτισσαι σπίτια στὰ τριγύρω νησόποιουλα
18th c., *EFTHYM.*, *Chron. Gal.* 19.7–8
- (v) In 16th- and 17th-c. Cretan literary texts πά often represents a reduction of πά + νά, where the first element is an invariant grammaticalized form of πάω “go”, cf. θά < θέ(λω) + νά, μπορά < μπορ(ῶ) + νά, etc. It is sometimes difficult to decide between a literal meaning and a more evolved future/modal function for πά, but the ultimate origins of πά νά as a kind of final clause (“go to do X”, “go and do X”) are clear:
ἀποὺ τὰ χειλή του θέλω νὰ πά γροικήσω ἀν ἔχει πόνο
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSI*, *Panor.* I.45–6
δομπλεγάρεται ... νὰ πά τὸ ἔανακαμπανίσου στοῦ ἄνωθεν
1609, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 626, 547.15
θές νὰ πά φέρω ἔνα σκοινί, σφιχτὰ νὰ τόνε δέσης; 17th c., *FOSKOLOS*, *Fort.* IV.289
κι ἀς κάμουν δ,τι λέγουσι, μὴν (μ)πά καὶ γελαστοῦσι
17th–18th c./?17th c., *Alfav.* 11 42 app. crit.
(vi) The conjunction μήνα (also used adverbially = “perhaps”/“by any chance” in direct questions, see 1.4.1, Rule (17)) may be used in place of simple μή(ν), particularly when the sense required is not negative purpose but the more positive “(just) in case”, “in the hope that”:
ὅρμησα ... τὸ νὰ γενῶ τσαγγάρης, μήνα χορτάσω τὸ ψωμίν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 145–6
τάχατε κλεῖ τὰ μάτια του, μήνα τὸν ἔλθῃ ὑπνος 15th c., *Peri xen.* 25
πολλὰ αὐτοὶ ἐπάσχισαν, μήνα τὸν ἔξεβγάλουν 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 15 g
ἔκοιταζα πολλὰ μήνα ἴδω καὶ ἀλλους δποὺ ἔγνωριζα
16th c., *PAPA-LAVR.*, *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 109.26–7
(vii) The element (μ)πάς (perhaps a reduction of μήν + an invariant form of πάω “go” with adverbial -s (rather than the unmotivated 2 sg. πᾶς)) is used similarly in Cyprus in combination with καὶ; a following νά is optional. The sense “(just) in case” allows for considerable overlap with complements of verbs of “fearing” and “precaution” (see 2.3, Rule (30)):
μὲ φόβον στέκω ... φοβώντα πάντα πάς καὶ βαρεθῆς με· τα πάθη βιάζουν πάς καὶ λυπηθῆς με
16th c./?15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 91.11–13
ὁ ρήγας ... ἐδιαλογίζετον πάς καὶ ἡ ρήγαινα κομπωθῆ καὶ πᾶσιν καὶ πάρουν τὴν
Κερυνίαν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS*, *Chron.* V 408.1
τοῦ γραψεν γραφάδες ..., πάς καὶ νὰ κάμη νὰ σαστῇ τοῦ χαζανᾶ ἡ λίτη
17th–18th c./17th c., *KONST. DIAK.*, *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 84–6

3.2 Consecutive (Result) Clauses

- (33) When the result described in a consecutive clause is presented as an event in real time, it is introduced by δτι “that” + indicative or, from ca. 15th c., by “factive” (δ)πού + indicative (both with negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν); when the result is presented as potential or logical rather than actual, consecutive clauses contain a future/modal verb form marked by νά + subjunctive (imperfective or perfective, with negative μή(ν)), later preceded optionally by δτι or (δ)πού.

A clause specifying the result of an action or state of affairs described in a main clause is always in principle optional, but if the main clause contains an element modified by a specifier meaning “so”/“such”, some result is at least strongly anticipated if not actually compulsory, cf. ... *so X [that Y]*.

With δτι + Indicative

ἔγινετον δ φόβος τοιούτως πολύς, δτι οἱ χριστιανοὶ ... ἔξιδῶκαν ἀπέ τοὺς οἴκους των
1326, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 41, 93.10–12

τόσα τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν ... δτι βιουλὴν ἄπτηρασιν οἱ φρονιμώτεροι τους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2101–3

τόσον ἔγινε ἀπό τὴν μυθολογίαν ἔνδοξος δτι ύπερέβη πάντας τοὺς σοφούς καὶ
διδασκάλους 16th c., *Vios Aisop.* K 147.4–5

τί εἶναι ἐτούτη ἡ σοφία ὅπού τοῦ ἔδωθη, δτι καὶ τέτοιας λογῆς δυνάμεις γίνονται διὰ
τῶν χειρῶν του; 17th c., *KALLIOUP.*, *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2

With (δ)πού + Indicative

ἔμαθαν τὸν δρισμὸν ἐκεῖνον, τόσον σκληρὸν κι ὠμότατον πού ποτὲ οὐκ ἐφάνη
15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* II.14.4–5 (1529)

τὴν ὀραν ἐκείνην ... ἔβρεξεν εἰς ὅλον τὸν κόσμον όπού πούπετες δὲν εἶχεν μείνει ὅπού
νὰ μὴν βρέξει 16th c., *KARTANOS*, *P&N Diath.* 333.23–5

εἶδα δυσδ κομμάτια κριάς ..., τόσα παχιά, τόσα καλά, τόσα πολλὰ μεγάλα, π' ὅλος
ἔξαναστάθηκα 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSI*, *Katz.* III.85–7

ἔνας θρῆνος γίνεται εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μοναστήρι όπού ὅποιος τὰς ἰδεῖ κλαίει τὴν λύπην
των 1615, Crete, *CHAIRETI* 1969: 6, 175.30–1

ἔπειμψε παντόθες νὰ τὸν γυρεύγη όπού ἡμπορεῖ νὰ εἰπῃ τινάς πώς δὲν ἀφηκε πέτρα
ἀγύρευτην 17th c., *VENETZAS*, *Varl. & Ioas.* 33.14–16

ἔγινηκε ταραχή μεγάλη καὶ πόλεμος φοβερός, πού ἔγέμωσε ὁ κάμπος ἀπὸ κουφάρια
18th c., *EFTHYM.*, *Chron. Gal.* 33.24–6

With νά + Subjunctive

οὐδὲν εύρισκω εἰς ἐμέν ... τοσούτην ἀδιάκρισιν, νὰ μὴ τὸ ἔγνωρίζω δτι εἰς τὸ κουμοῦ
τῆς Βενετίας ἔξεβησαν ἀνθρῶποι γνώσεως μεγάλης 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 948–51

ἀλλὰ τινάς οὐκ ἔφτασεν ποτέ του εἰς τόσην δόξαν, τὸ στέμμα τὸ βασιλικὸν νὰ τοῦ
ἔχουν φορέσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 952–3

θέλεις ἔβγην εἰς ὄρεινὸν λιβάδιν τέτοιον μέγα νὰ ἔγγίζῃ ἀπάνω εἰς ούρανόν ... ἢ
κορυφὴ του
λέγε μου ... πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιας λογῆς νὰ προτιμᾶς ... ἐκεῖνα ὅπου δὲν θεωρεῖς
ἀπὸ ἐκεῖνα ὅπου θεωροῦμεν φανερά

14th c., *Log. parig.* L 133-417th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Iosas.* 34.20-1

With δτι νὰ + Subjunctive

ἀποκεῖς ἔβγάλ' το ἀπὸ τῇ φωτιά καὶ βάνεις τὸ κακκάβι ... τόσο ὅτι τὸ νερὸ γὰ μήν
ἡμπορῆ νὰ πάρῃ δξω

?15th-16th c., *Heptanese, MORGAN* 1954: 66.24-5

With (ό)ποι νὰ + Subjunctive

καὶ ἔνα σκαρπέλλο τόσο μακρὺ όποι ν' ὀβαντζάρη δξω ἀπὸ τὴν μποῦκα τοῦ
κομματιοῦ
παρακαλῶ τὴν ἀφεντία σου νὰ κατιβάσῃς τὰ πρέτζια διὰ νὰ πουλοῦμε (τὰ βιβλία)
..., ποὺ νὰ μὴ μᾶς ἀπομνίσκουν καὶ γένουνται μπατάλικα

1681, Ioannina, *VELOUDIS* 1987: 10, 308, f.2r.28-32

NOTES

- (i) In earlier texts and in less formal styles the consecutive clause may appear without future/modal νὰ or any overt conjunction:

οὐκ ἡτον τόσος δ λαὸς τὰ πλευτικὰ γεμίσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 407

καὶ τόσα ἔβιάστησαν πολλὰ ἐσυμβιβάσαντες τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3312

τόσα ἔπλευσαν, τόσα ἔποικαν, φθάνουν τὴν Σαλαμῖναν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1385

- (ii) In more learned styles the ancient conjunction ὥστε may be used with past indicatives in place of ὅτι/(ό)ποι, and occasionally even with the ancient accusative + infinitive construction (but ὥστε νὰ + subjunctive is usually temporal, see 3.4); in later texts ὥστε appears also in combination with (ό)ποι:

καὶ δ ἀνέμος τοιοῦτος μέγας ώστε ἔριπτεν τὰ ἀνώγια ἀπάνω κάτω
1326, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 41, 93.6-7

σπαράττουσι τὰ μέλη του, κλουεῖται τὴν καρδίαν ώστε νομίζειν καὶ τὴν γράν
ἀποθανεῖν ἐκεῖνον 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1161-2

ἡτον παχύς εἰς τὸ κορμί του ... ώστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόντεσαν τὰ
ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.10-14

ἔπεσεν τόσον θανατικόν ώστε όποι ἐμεῖς δὲν ἡμποροῦμεν νὰ θάπτομεν τοὺς
νεκρούς 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 6-7

- (iii) There is some formal overlap/confusion between consecutive and final clauses in that both look forward to events that follow the action of the main clause:

καὶ τόσα τοὺς ποτίσετε τοῦ νὰ ἔχουσιν μεθύσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8301

- (iv) From ca. 15th c. onwards coordination with καὶ is a common alternative to subordination given the inherent consequentiality of the two events:

ἐκεῖνος ἡτον τόσον κρουδέλ καὶ ἔρισεν καὶ ἐσκοτῶσαν τον

16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron. A* 18.7

καὶ ἄκου τὸ τὶ μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν κ ἔθλιβην ἡ ψυχὴ μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 28
οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται ἡβλέπουν τόσο πολὺ φουσάτο καὶ φοβοῦνται καὶ δίδουν τὸν
Σαφών δεμένον τῶν ἔχθρῶν 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 278.33-4
ἔπαρε ἀγριάγγουρα ... καὶ τὰ σφίγγεις καὶ πηδᾶ ἔξω τὸ ζουμί καὶ ὁ σπόρος τους
17th c., *LANDOS, Geopon.* 237.4-6

3.3 Conditional Clauses

(34) Conditional clauses (protases) are introduced by (έ)άν “if”, ἀνέναι “if it is the case that”, ἀνίσως “if by chance”, δν πολλάκις “if ever/by chance”, with negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέν; εἰ “if” is also used in older texts as well as in more formal styles. “Unless” is rendered by means of πλὴν ἂν, ξεω ἂν or ἀλλέως καὶ (no conjunction); “even if” by καὶ δν/άς, or ἀνέναι καὶ/ἀνίσως καὶ, πλὴν (κ)άν (but see also concessive clauses, 3.6).

When a conditional conjunction is present, νά is hardly ever used to mark future/modal or conditional verb forms; but the conditional conjunction may be omitted and the relevant forms must then be marked with νά (negative μήν(v)).

In LMedG/EMG both tense and aspect are important in determining the time reference of a conditional sentence as well as its reading as specific or generic (see below for details). Any meaningful pairing of forms/tenses is possible in the protasis and apodosis (main clause), but the event described in the protasis can never follow that of the apodosis.

With time εἰχον/εἰχα + aorist infinitive is confined increasingly to protases, where it starts to evolve into a pluperfect, first through reinterpretation as a form marking the *logical* priority of the events described in hypothetical/counterfactual protases and then, through a natural extension, as marking *temporal* priority vis-à-vis other past events, thus allowing its use in other subordinate clauses and also in main clauses. The development proceeds at different speeds in different areas, depending in part on whether the pluperfect formed with εἰχον/εἰχα + perfect passive participle is in use. In the 14th-c. *Chronicle of Morea*, for example, the εἰχα-periphrasis appears only in counterfactual protases in past time and is already used as a true pluperfect. By contrast, in 16th/17th-c. Crete, where participial pluperfects are the norm, it is still used only in subordinate clauses for which a meaning “would (have)” is possible, whether in a hypothetical or (secondary) habitual sense.

The examples below are organized according to the time-reference of the protasis/conditional clause, as determined by its overall context (but since conditional forms may be used to refer to past, present or future, there is often indeterminacy).

3.3.1 Future/Generic Time Reference

Subjunctives (possible events) or past indicatives/conditionals (hypothetical events) may appear in the protasis (see 1.2.2 for further details of the forms involved).

There is a fairly strong correlation between perfective forms in apodoses and specific readings of the whole, imperfective forms in apodoses and generic readings of the whole

(though perfective νά-futures are often generic and imperfects used as conditionals are aspectually neutral, cf. Chapter 1, Rule (11) and NOTES).

3.3.1.1 Subjunctive in Protasis

Future/Specific

- ἄν μὲ λόχη θάνατος, νὰ μὲ λαζαρώσουν ὅσπερ τούς δλους καλογέρους
ca. 1270, Athos, BOPPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52–82.53
- εἰ μὲν εύροιν ὅτι ζητεῖ ... τὸ κάστρον τῆς Καρύταινας ..., νὰ τοῦ <τὴν> δώσῃ τὴν
νομήν καὶ νὰ τὸν ρεβεστίσῃ 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8143–5
- ἄν στραφῇ εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν, ἄν οὐδὲν ποιήσῃ ἔργον νὰ μείνῃ εἰς τὴν Ρωμανίαν ...,
ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, μέμφεσται κι ὀνειδίζει 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8183–5
- βαρὺν μὲ ἡθελε φανῆ, ἄν εὔρω ὅτι ἀργεῖτε 15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1419
- ἄν ἐγώ ἀποθάνω, εὔρει θέλει ή βασιλεία σου ἄλλον ἀντί τοῦ Φιλόνην εὶς δὲ ἀποθάνης
ἐσύ, ἐγώ δὲλλον βασιλέα Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲν θέλω εὔρειν
16th c., Diig. Alex. F 26.16–18 (Konstantinopoulos)
- ἄν ἵσως καὶ εἰπῶ πώς εἶσαι ἀμάθητος τοῦ καλοῦ, καλὰ τὸ θέλω εἴπει
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 35.31–2

Generic

- ἄν εὔρουν εἰς κατώφορον ψυχήν ἀναγκασμένην, ἔκει περισυνάγονται καὶ πολεμοῦν
την πνίξειν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 187–8
- δ Θεός ἐλευθερώσῃ σε, καὶ ἄς είσαι ψωμοζήτης 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 216
- πλὴν κἀν αὐτὸς ἐλησμονῆ, πλὴν κἀν αὐτὸς υυστάζη, ἐγώ πονῶ καὶ ἐγώ ἀγρυπνῶ
καὶ ἐγώ νὰ σ' ἐνθυμίσω 15th c./12th c., Ptoch. (Maiuri) 10–11
- στὴν ἐκκλησία τους ἔὰν συμβῇ Φράγκος νὰ λειτουργήσῃ, σαράντα ημέρες λείπεται
ἀψαλτή ή ἐκκλησία τους 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 767–8
- ἐχτρὸν τὸν ἔχω τοῦ Χριστοῦ, νὰ μὴ μὲ σφάξῃ εὐθέως 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4756
- καὶ πολλάκις ἄν τοὺς τὸ εἴπωσι, νὰ μηδὲν κάθωνται
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.21, 1

3.3.1.2 Past Indicative/Conditional in Protasis

Future/Specific

- καὶ ἄν ἡθελα θανατωθῆ, τὴν κόρην δὲν ἀφήνω
15th–16th c./13th–14th c., Liv. α 2960 app. crit. (N)
- ἄν ἡθελα λεπτῶς νὰ σὲ τὰ ἔγραφα δλα ..., ..., πολλὰ ἡθέλαν βαρεθῆ ἔκεινοι δπου τὸ
άκοῦσιν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 2816–18
- ἡθελεν ποιήσει ψυχικὸν καὶ ἔπαινόν του μέγαν, νὰ ὑπάντρεψε τὴν ντάμα Ζαμπέα μὲ
ξιναν καβαλλάρην 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8531–2

εἰς τέτοιον λογισμὸν ἄν ἥμουν δλη μέρα ἡθελα σκάσει στέκοντα σὰ σύκον ἡ πεπόνι
16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, Log. did. 258–9

Generic

- πολλάκις δὲ δ πρίγκιπας νὰ ἥτοι εἰς δλλον τόπον καὶ νὰ ἡθελεν νὰ ἔβαλλεν ὁκάποιο
δλλον ..., οὐδὲν χρεωστοῦν οἱ δινθρωποι ... νὰ ποιήσουν δλλου γάρ τινός
δμάτζιον 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7896–900
- ἀμπολλάκις καὶ δὲν ἡθελαν τὸ δουλεύουν καλὰ ..., νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ τοὺς ἔβγανη ἀπὸ
τὸ ἄνωθεν δίχως λόγου καὶ κρίσεως 1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 21.10–11
- ἄν ἴσως κ' ... δὲν ἡθελεν ἔχει χρεία ἔκεινος ... καὶ ἡθελεν θέλει νὰ τηνέ (ἀγελέα)
πακτώσει, νὰ μὴ μπορᾶ τηνε δώσει δλλονού 1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.9–11
- ἄν ἐφρονέψασι κι αύτοι ν' ἀλλάξουσι δαμάκι, τσι κορασές δεῖν ἡθελες νὰ πιούσινε
φαρμάκι 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Panor. I.443–4

3.3.2 Present Time Reference

Present indicatives (potentially real events) or imperfect indicatives/conditionals (hypothetical/counterfactual events) may appear in protases, where there is a strong correlation between present time reference and imperfective aspect.

3.3.2.1 Present Indicative in Protasis

- ἔὰν δ πατήρ ὑπάρχει δαιμονιάριος, δ πάππος δύναται συναινεῖν τῷ γάμῳ, διότις ὁ
սίδος οὐκ ἔστιν ἐρρωμένος τὸν νοῦν ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 239.414
- ἄν ἔχεις δπλαζίριν, ἄς πᾶν οἱ ἀνθρώποι νὰ μας ποίσουν τόπον, διὰ νὰ σοῦ συντύχω!
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 8.12–13
- ἄ θέεις νὰ γιάνω, ἀφέντη μου, ἔλα μοῦ τ' ἀγοράστης!
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Katz. III. 92
- ἄν ἔν καὶ λέγω ψέματα, δλοι μὲ πέτε 'κτῆμα'
16th c., KAKOP. 14
- μίσσεψε, Ἀλέξη, πρὶ σὲ δῆ, ἀνέναι κι ἀγαπᾶς με
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Panor. I.241

3.3.2.2 Imperfect/Conditional in Protasis

- ἄν οὐ σὲ 'γάπουν τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σὲ 'χα
15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. N 1571
- ἄν ἥτον καὶ νὰ μπόρει τὸν ὑπνον νὰ κοιμάτον ἀλησμονήσειν ἡθελεν δλίγον ἐκ τὴν
λύπην 15th c., Peri xen. 23
- ἄν τὸ 'ξευρα δληθινά, ἐπηγαίννα καὶ ἐσκοτώννα τὸν μισέρ Άντριαν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 42.17–18

- σαράντ' ἀγιοὺς καὶ ἄν ἔκραζες μὲ πόθο νὰ γυρεύῃς, τές λειτουργίες σου χάνεις τες,
μὰ μένα δὲν μοῦ φεύγεις
ἄν ήθέλαμεν κοιμᾶσται ... ήθέλαμεν εἰπεῖν δτι ὅνειρον ἐθεωρούσαμεν
16th c., *Alfav.* 10 71–2
- ἄν εἰχε ἡθέλαμεν κοιμᾶσται ... 17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 269, 37–8
- ἄν εἶχα ἑκατὸ γλῶσσες καὶ νάχα ἑκατὸ στόματα ... τὰ χεῖλη δὲν μποροῦσι παρὰ
ποὺ ν' ἀποφρίζουνε
17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 65–8
- ἄν ἔμποροῦσαν θάνατο ἔθελασι μοῦ δώσει
17th–18th c./17th c., *Stathis Prol.* 4

3.3.3 Past Time Reference

Past indicatives (denoting both potentially real and hypothetical/counterfactual events) and conditionals (hypothetical/counterfactual events) may be used in protases.

Protases containing past indicatives referring to the past are fairly uncommon, and tend to have progressive or generic readings marked by imperfective aspect; but the aorist may also be used in generics if there is contextual support such as a co-occurring adverb like ποτέ “ever”.

3.3.3.1 Past Indicative in Protasis

Real (Progressive/Generic)

- αὐτὴ καὶ ἄν ἐμαραίνετον, ἐλαυπεν ὡς ὁ ἥλιος
15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 183
- ποτὲ ἄν ἐσυνεπλάκη ἄνθρωπος ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους μου ... εἰς τέτοιαν ... ἀνάμνησιν
ἀγάπης, πολλὰ τὸν ἐκατεπίκρασιν, χῆλια τὸν ἐμεμφόμην
15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv. α* 125–8
- οῖος καὶ ἄν εὐρίσκετον, μαντατοφόρος νὰ ἥτον, τινὰς οὐδὲν τὸν ἔκαμνεν ἐμπόδιον
καθόλου
16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1395–6 (ms B)
- ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ μῆλα τινὰς δὲν ἡμπόρειε νὰ πάρει ἀπ' αὐτὰ ἄν δὲν ἥτονε παρθένος καὶ
καθαρός
16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.38–9

Counterfactual

- ἄν οὐκ ἐθάρρεις κολυμβᾶν, κολυμβητής μὴ ἐγένου, ἀλλ' ἄς ἐκάθου σιγηρὸς ..., καὶ ἄς
ἐκνηθεὶς τὴν λέπραν σου, καὶ ἄς ἥφηνες ἐμέναν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 103–5
- καταβλαττάς ἄν ἔμαθον καὶ σηκωτής ἄν ἥμουν, ὡς σηκωτής νὰ ἐδούλευα τὴν
ἀπασαν ἥμέραν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 181–2
- ἄν οὐδὲν ἥτον ἡ θάλασσα, ἀκόμη εἶχε ὑπαγαίνειν
15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 260
- τούς πόνους ἄν ἐσύναξαν ὅλους τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ... καὶ εἰς ἄλλον μέρος νὰ ἔβαναν
πόνους τῆς ξενιτείας, πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἐβάρυναν πόνοι τῆς ξενιτείας
15th c., *Alf. Xen. B* 99–102
- Μαρ. ἔγω τὸν εἶχουνα ἄν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει. Ἐρμ. ... καὶ πῶς τὸν ἥθελες ἔχει ἄν
δὲν ἔτρωγεν ἐκεῖνος
17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.19–22

3 Adverbial Clauses

3.3.3.2 Conditional in Protasis

- εἰ δὲ κομπώσειν ἥθελες ..., ἄς ἔλαβες ὁμοίαν σου, καπήλου θυγατέραν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 106–7
- ἔκεινοι ἄν σε εἶχαν εύρει, Συρίαν οὐκ ἐθεώρεις
15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 141
- ἄν εἶχε ἐπάρει δι πρίγκιπας τότε τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην καὶ τὰ φουσσάτα τῶν νησίων
... καὶ νὰ εἶχε ὑπάγει σπουδαχτικά ὀλόρθα εἰς τὸ Νίκλι ... δι Μέγας δι Δεμέστικος
ἀργά νὰ ἐφουσσατέψει
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 4876–80
- ἄν εἶχαν ποίσειν τὰ καρτζά δισημένα, ἥθελα είσταιν τόσα φτενά δτι ἥθελαν
καταλυέσθαιν γλήγορα
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 76.18–19
- ἄν εἶχαν ἔχει κάτεργα, ... ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἐφεύγασιν ..., ἥθελασιν προτιμηθῆ
σύντομα νὰ μισεύσουν
16th c./15th c., *Velis. p* 325–8
- Μαρ. ἔγω τὸν εἶχουνα ἄν ἐκεῖνος δὲν εἶχεν φάγει. Ἐρμ. ... καὶ πῶς τὸν ἥθελες ἔχει
ἄν δὲν ἔτρωγεν ἐκεῖνος;
17th c., *Bertoldin.* 96.19–22
- ἄνισως καὶ δι ὁγάς του δὲν τὸν ἥθελε κράξει, δὲν ἥθελαν ἡμπορέσει οἱ ἀκτῖνες τοῦ
ἥλιου νὰ τὸν ξυπνήσουν
18th c., *Don Kis.* 48.8–10

NOTES

- (i) In texts composed wholly or partly in higher registers certain ancient options may be used:

ἄν as an apodotic particle with counterfactual past indicatives (and conditional periphrases):

- εἰ γάρ ἐκεὶ ἐτύχομεν, οὐκ ἄν τοῦτο συνέβη, οὐκ ἄν εἰς οἴκον μάς ποτε εἶχετε
πορευεθῆναι
13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G* I.274–5

negative μή rather than οὐ(k) in protases:

- ἄν οὖν μὴ φάσῃ με τὸ σὸν φιλεύσπλαγχνον, αὐτάναξ, καὶ δώροις καὶ χαρίσμασι
τὴν ἀπληστὸν ἐμπλήστης, τρέμω, πτοοῦμαι, δέδοικα μὴ φονευθῶ πρὸ ὀρᾶς, καὶ
χάσης σου τὸν Πρόδρομον
14th c./?12th c., *Ptoch. I* 271–4

(Note the accumulation of “high” features in this address to the emperor, e.g. datives, genitive after a preposition, obsolete vocabulary.)

- (ii) When the main clause expresses hope/anticipation ἀνέν(αι) καὶ can be used in a postposed subordinate clause, “in hope”/“in case”:

- ἐμπρόδ-δπίσω γύρισα, ... ἄν εἰν καὶ εύρω πούπετε τόπον ν' ἀποκουμπήσω
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 13–14

Μήπως is used similarly when the main clause expresses precaution/prevention, “lest/in case”:

- μηδὲν δώσῃς πλῆξιν τοῦ πληξημένου μήπως ππέσῃ εἰς δισπιριά
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 99.24–5

- μὰ πὲς μου πῶς ἐπέρασε τὸ πράμα, μήπως κι' ἔχει δίκιο
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSI, Katz.* III.63–4

- δέομαι ... νὰ ἔχω συγχώρησιν ... μήπως εύρῃ με δι θάνατος
1622, *?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS* 1918d: B, 300.17–20

3.4 Temporal Clauses

- (35) Temporal clauses add information about eventualities that take place before, at the same time as, or after the event described in the main clause, and contain past/present indicative or future/modal verb forms as required by the sense.

Clauses denoting past-time situations preceding a past-time main clause (i.e. with conjunctions meaning "when", "after", "since", "as soon as") normally contain aorist (past perfective) indicatives whether the situation described is a single event or a series of habitual/repeated events; towards the end of the period of this Grammar, however, an imperfect (past imperfective) indicative may be substituted in the latter function. Those denoting non-past (present/future/generic) situations preceding a non-past main clause typically contain perfective (aorist) subjunctives to represent both single and repeated events, though present indicatives may sometimes appear when the meaning is habitual/progressive. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"(at the point in time) when"

ώσάν, σάν, ώς; δτε, δταν, δπότα(ν); δντε, δντα(ν), δνταν

"after", "since (the time when)"

ἀφοῦ, ἀφότου; ἀφόν, ἀφό(ν)τι(ς); ἀπώς, ἀπότις, ἀπόντας; ἀπείς, ἀπείτις

"as soon as"

μόλις, ἅμα, δσον, εύθυς δπού, τόμου (< τό δμοῦ) νά, μοναῦτα και

Clauses denoting past-time situations overlapping with a past-time main clause (i.e. with conjunctions meaning "while", "as long as") normally contain imperfect indicatives. Those denoting non-past situations overlapping with a non-past main clause contain present indicatives or imperfective/present subjunctives: since certain conjunctions do not allow/require subjunctives to be marked with νά (see below) it is often difficult or impossible to distinguish the two. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"(during the time) when"

ώσάν/σάν, ώς, ώς που, ώς ποτε, ώς δτι, ώς δτε, ώς δπότα(ν), δστε; δντε, δντα(ν), δνταν

"while", "as long as"

ἐνω, ἐνόσω; ἔστα(ν), ἔστοντας; ἔως (ού, δπού/πού, δτου, νά)

"as long as"

δσον

Situations following those described in past or non-past main clauses are necessarily prospective/theoretical relative to those main-clause events. Clauses describing these are normally introduced by conjunctions meaning "before"/"until" and contain subjunctives (mostly perfective/aorist); but since in past-time contexts the relevant actions eventually take place, a past-tense indicative is sometimes substituted in *until*-clauses, though not in *before*-clauses. Typical LMedG/EMG conjunctions of this type are:

"until"

ώς (πού/δπου, δτι, δτε), δστε (πού/δπου); ἔσταν(ε); ἔως (ού, δπού/πού, δτου, νά); δσον

"before"

πριν, πρδ μή(ν), πρτοῦ, δμπρδς παρά, πρίχου

The *until*-group of conjunctions normally require subjunctive forms to be marked with νά, the *before*-group allow νά optionally; by contrast, the *when*- and *after/since*-groups regularly appear with "bare" subjunctives. Membership of the *while/as long as*-group is largely drawn from the *when*- and *until*-groups and individual conjunctions behave accordingly, with those belonging to both sets allowing both options.

3.4.1 Past-time Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events

3.4.1.1 Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause

"When/after/as soon as" + Aorist Indicative

ἔγώ ἔξ ἀρχῆς πολλὰ ἤντεστάθην, δταν τό δκουσα

12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 9 314.5-6

καὶ ἅμα τὸν εῖδα, εἶπα τον, ούδε ἔχαιρέτησα τον

15th c./13th–14th c., Liv. E 579

ἀφότου ἐκατόρθωσεν δσα σᾶς ἀφηγοῦμαι ... τό πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκεν κι ἀπῆραν το οἱ ἀγγέλοι

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7801-4

ὅσον ἀποσωρεύτησαν μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι, ἀνοίξαν τὰ προστάγματα καὶ δναγνώσαν τα

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7856-7

δντα τὴν ἐγόρασεν δ αύτὸς ρὲ Ούγκε τὴν Κύπρον ... δτον εἰς μεγάλην ἔννοιαν

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 20.4-9

ἀφόν ἐφάγαν καὶ ἐπαρδιαβάσαν, ἐκατέβησαν κάτω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 44.9

σδαν ἐμίσεψε ὀπό κεῖ ..., κιαμιᾶς λογῆς ἀνάπταψη δὲν τηρισκεν δ κόρη

18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, Erot. III.13–14

ώσάν δπέρασεν δ πρώτη δικιά του παιδός, τὸν πέμπτει νά κατοικᾶ ἐκεῖ

17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ios. 38.33-5

Very occasionally the aorist indicative is used to indicate repeated events, though the imperfect indicative (overtly marking the incompleteness of the series) is the more regular choice in this function in the period covered by this Grammar:

Aorist

ἄν δναιν καὶ δρθύμησεν, ἐπεφτεν εἰς τὰ δνθη

15th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. L 525

Though the conjunction here is formally conditional, the sense is clearly "whenever".

Imperfect

χαράν μεγάλην είχασι διά νά ἔχουν πολεμήσει, ἐπεί, δταν δὲν τοὺς ἀφηνε νά ύπαν νά πολεμήσουν, μεγάλην θλίψιν είχασιν, δσαν ωσάν χαμένοι

16th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 9200-2

- καὶ δταν τὸ (χρυσὸν δέντρον) ἔκρουεν ὁ ἄνεμος, ἔμμορφα ἐτραγούδειεν
15th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. L 536
- δταν ἐλειτοῦργαν, ἐσυνλειτοῦργάν του ούράνιος ἀγγελος 16th c., Pist. kekoim. 366
- δπόταν ἐμλουνε, ἐφαινόντησαν σὰν τόσα τσουκάλια ὅπου νὰ ἔβραζαν
17th c., Bertoldos 6.11
- δὲν ἀφηνεν κανέναν νὰ είναι πόρνος ... διότι, τόμου νὰ ἀκούουνταν ποθὲς ψιλὸς
λόγος, αὐτὸς πάραυτα νὰ τὸν κράξῃ, νὰ τὸν μαλώσῃ
17th c., PAPASYNAD., Chron. I §29.40–2

NOTES

- (i) The pluperfect is occasionally used in later texts to emphasize anteriority:
καὶ δταν ὁ Θεὸς εἶχεν κάμει τὸν κόσμον εἶχαν πέσει (τὰ δαιμόνια) ἀπὸ τοὺς
ούρανοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 335.28–30
- (ii) Since what follows may be caused by what precedes, conjunctions meaning “after/ since (the time when)” may sometimes acquire the causal meaning of “since” (see also 3.5, NOTE (iv)):
δλίγοι ἀνθρωποι ἡμποροῦν νὰ τὸ ἔχουσι φυλάττει (τὸ κάστρον), ἀφῶν ἔχει
σωτάρχισιν κ’ ἔνι ἀφιρωμένον 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8273–4
οὐλὸν τὸν κόσμον θρέψει τὸν τὸ θάρος κ’ ἑγώ ἐφότις ἐβίγλισα ‘χ τὸν Πόθον ...
ἔχασά το 16th c./15th–16th c., Cypr. Canz. 109.19–22
- (iii) The relative adverb (ἐκεῖ) δπου, lit. “(in the place) where”, is sometimes also used with a temporal/causal meaning “when/since”; this may carry a further nuance of contrast with what has preceded:
ἀφῶν ὁ πρίγκιπας ἀρχισε γάρ τὴν μάχην δπου ὑπωμόσαμεν οἱ δύο ἀγάπην νὰ
κρατοῦμεν, ἐκεῖνος ἔχει τὴν ἀμαρτίαν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4568–70
ἐκεῖ δπου ἐκατέβαλα καὶ κατεσφίσά τον τὸν χοῖρον τὸν κακότυχον ..., ἐσένα τί¹
σὲ ἤθελα νὰ είσαι εἰς ἐντροπήν μου 15th c./14th c., Diig. tetr. 464–6
- (iv) Conversely, ἔστοντα(s) καὶ and (in Cyprus) ἔστόντα καὶ or ἔχοντα(s) καὶ, lit. “it being the case”/“since”, may also have temporal uses (see also 3.5):
ἔχοντα καὶ ἡ Ἅγια Ἐλένη ηὔρεν τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν, ἔβαλέν τον εἰς ἔναν νεκρόν
17th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. R 67.23–5
- ἔστόντα τάπισα καὶ ἐβγάλων τὸν ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν πύργον, δ βασιλιάς ἐποίκεν νὰ τὸν
μάθουσιν τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ 16th c./15th–16th c., Fior 150.14–16
- (v) With ἔστοντα(s) use of the aorist subjunctive to refer to the past as well as the non-past is normal, though not obligatory (see Note (iv)):
οἱ δποῖοι ἀρχοντες ἔδωσάν με πέντε πῆχες, ἑγώ δὲ ἔστοντας καὶ νὰ ἔλθω ἀπὸ τὴν
καθολικήν ..., ἡμρηκα πῆχες είκοσι πέντε 17th c., Diath. Nikon Metan. 41–4

3 Adverbial Clauses

“Εστοντας as a conjunction with past indicatives is probably therefore a secondary development, the original structure being a tenseless absolute construction marked only for aspect, “given X’s performance of Y”.

3.4.1.2 Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/while/as long as” + Imperfect Indicative

αὐτός, δνταν ἐμάνθανεν, ὑπόδησιν οὐκ εἶχεν 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. III 60 app. crit. (P)
ἐνόσω εἰς μάχην ἔστεκον καὶ ἐμέριζαν τὴν νίκην, ὀφῆκαν τὸ νὰ μάχωνται καὶ εἰς ἔνα
λόγον ἤλθαν 16th c./13th–14th c., Liv. S 1216–17 (Lambert-van der Kolf)

ἰσιάστη μὲ τὴν πριγκίπισσαν ..., ἑνῶ ἐκράτει τὸν τόπον του ἀπ’ αὐτὴν κ’ ἥτον κυρά²
του, κι ἀπῆρε τὴν θυγάτηρ της 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7980–2

εἶχεν εἰς ἀβοερίαν αὐτοῦ τὸν Γγίον ντὲ λὰ Ρότζε ἔως οὐ ἔζη ἡ μητέρα του
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8043–4

ώς ἔστεκα κ’ ἔθωρουν τον, γυρίζει καὶ δμιλεῖ μου 16th c./15th c., Om. Nekr. Vas. 27
καὶ βασιλέως παιδίν ἡμουν, ... καὶ δσον ἀνετρέφουμουν, ὑψώναστι με χρόνοι
16th c./15th c., Om. Nekr. Vas. 51–2

ἑγώ ὡσάν ἐκείτομουν εἰς τὸ κρεβάτι ἀσθενημένος ἀνοιξα τὰ μάτια μου καὶ ἔξαφνα
είδα ἔναν ἀνθρωπον 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., Dīgīsis (Meteoron) 107.14–15

οὐδὲ ἔλειψεν αὐτὸν τὸ φῶς ἔως ὅτου ἔμενεν ἐκεῖ ἡ Θεοτόκος
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 328.28–9

ἡ Μαρκόλφα τὸν εἶδεν σὰν ἐγύριζεν ἀπὸ τὴν χώραν 17th c., Bertoldin. 141.32–142.1

NOTES

- (i) (ἐκεῖ) δπου, lit. “(in the place) where”, is also used with an “overlapping” temporal meaning, sometimes with a nuance of contrast, “whereas”:
καὶ ἐκεῖ δπου ἐδέοντον τοῦ Θεοῦ νὰ δώσει βροχήν, τοὺς ἔπεμψε χαλάζιν μεγάλον
καὶ φοβερόν 17th c., Chron. 1619 1149–50

3.4.2 Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Preceding/Overlapping Events

3.4.2.1 Preceding the Event Described in the Main Clause

“When/after/as soon as” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event or repeated events)

δταν δ κόραξ πούποτε καθίση καὶ φωάξῃ, ἐκεῖ σημαίνει θάνατον καὶ χωρισμόν
ἀθρόον 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 20–1

τὸ δένδρον τὸ νεόφυτον ..., ἀφοῦ ψυγῇ παρὰ καιρόν, ἀφοῦ φυλλορροήσῃ, ... ἀλλο
ποτὲ οὐ βλαστήσει 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 223–5

πλὴν ἀφ’ οὐ κάτω κατεβῆς ἐκ τ’ ὀρεινὸν ἐκεῖνο, ... θέλεις ἀκούειν ἀπὸ μακρέα τῆς
Κακοδυστυχίας ἀνθρωποαναστενάγματα 14th c./13th c., Log. parig. L 145–8

- μοναῦτα καὶ τὸν αὐτό μας δρισμὸ περιλάβης, νὰ ποίσῃς ... διαλαλημὸ καὶ δρισμὸ
ἀπὲ τὴ μερία μας 1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPULLOS 1983: 3, 5.1-2
- δταν δώσῃ τὸν κακὸν του θάνατον δ Ἡρώδης, τότες νὰ σκοτώσῃ δλους τούς
πρώτους 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 337.7-9
- κάθα ὄντεν ἔρθη καράβι, ἔρχεται καὶ κάθεται καὶ κλαίει
1610, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 3, 169.4-5
- ὅποτε ἔρτης μὲ τές δύναμες ἐκεῖνες ... εἴμεστεν πρόθυμοι
1618, Mani, MIKLOSICH/MÜLLER 1860/90, vol. 3: 24, 270.9
- "When/after/as soon as" + Present Indicative (habitual/repeated events)
- μόλις τοὺς δίδομεν ψωμίν, ... εὐθὺς μὲ πάσαν προθυμιάν εύρισκουνται δηγέρια
15th-16th c./15th c., BERTOS, Eis evd. aion. 63-8
- ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ δέντρα ἡμποροῦμεν νὰ εύρισκωμεν τὰ σύνορα, ὅποτε τὰ χαλάει τὸ
ποτάμι 1572, Achaia, VEIS 1956: 450.18
- παρακαλῶ τὴ πανιερότη σου νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσαι ..., ὅποτα βρίσκεις πατσάτσο, νὰ μοῦ
πέθης γραφή 1612, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 4, 171.6-7

NOTES

- (i) In more colloquial styles, clauses of this type occasionally lack an overt conjunction (in the manner of conditional clauses more generally, see 3.3). The subject is always omitted (i.e. understood as coreferential with that of the main verb) and the effect is rather like that of an infinitive marked for aspect but not for tense (see Rule (36)):
- πρόσεξε ..., νὰ σέβης εἰς τὸ κάστρον, πῶς στήκει 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8214-15
"take note, on entering the castle, of how it is laid out"

3.4.2.2 Overlapping with the Event Described in the Main Clause

- "When/while/as long as" + Present Indicative/Subjunctive
- καὶ ἀν θέλουν τρώγειν οἱ δεκατρεῖς τοὺς δώδεκα μοδίους, ... τί τοὺς οὐ θάπτω ώστε
ζῶ καὶ φεύγω ἀπὸ τὴν Πόλιν ... ; 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. II 26.9-26.11 app. crit. (H)
δῶ ποτε ζῆς, βεβαιώθησε καὶ γνώριζε ἀπ' ἐμέναν, τῆς Τύχης τὸ κακόγνωμον οὐ θέλεις
ἀποφύγειν 14th c./13th c., Log. parig. L 100-1
- βουλήν ἀπῆρα ... ποτὲ νὰ μὴ τὴν στρέψω ώστι στέκῃ ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπάνω εἰς
τὸ κορμί μου 15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1410-13
- μὲ δάκρυα πάντα νὰ σὲ κλαίω, ἔστα νὰ ζῶ εἰς τὸν κόσμον
15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 4274 app. crit. (X)
- λοιπὸν κι ἔσεις τὴν νιότη σας χαίρεστεν ώστε ζεῖτε 16th c., Kakop. 185
- τὸ ἔτερον ἥμισον νὰ πάρῃ ἡ λεγομένη κερὰ Θεόκλητη, νὰ τὸ ἔχῃ ἔως ὅπου νὰ ζῇ
1596, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 1, 164.23-4

- δμως εἶναι δύσκολον νὰ ἀποθάνῃ τινὰς χωρὶς νὰ ἔβγῃ ἡ ψυχὴ του, καὶ ώστε νὰ ἔναι
ἡ ψυχὴ του μέσα του δὲν εἶναι ἀποθαμένος 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, Klini 165.15-17
- ὁ ποῖος ἀφέντης παπᾶς νὰ μπορῇ νὰ 'χῃ τὰ μνημόσυνα καὶ τὸ συνηθικές ἑορτές ...,
ἔως νὰ μπορῇ νὰ ιερουργῷ στὸ δάνωθεν μοναστήρι 1601, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 107, 122.11-13
- εἶναι πολλὰ ἀναπαμένον τὸ μοναστήρι ἀπὸ λόγου του, καὶ δσον ζεῖ δὲν θέλουν ...
ἄλλον 1615, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 6, 175.41-3
- τὰ ἔξης νὰ στέκεται ἡ αὐτὴ ἀλλαξιὰ ώστε δ ἥλιος φέγγει 1640, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 200, 168.20
- ὄντε ξημερώνει, ἄμε δημπροστάς τοῦ βασιλέως 17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 42.5-6
- τὸ πρᾶμα του νὰ εἶναι εἰς τὸ χέριν της νὰ τὸ κρατῆν ... ώσποτε ζεῖν
1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 181.12-14
- ώς ὅποτα ζῶ νὰ γρικέται ἀνάμεσά μας καὶ τῶν ἐδυονῶ ώς ὅποτα ζῶ καὶ
ἀποθάνοντάς μου νὰ 'ναι πάλι ἐδική του 1731, Kimolos, RAMFOS 1972: 18, 287.13
- #### 3.4.3 Past/Non-past Temporal Clauses Denoting Following Events
- ##### 3.4.3.1 Containing Subjunctives
- "Until" + Aorist Subjunctive (single event)
- οἱ Τοῦρκοι οὐδὲν ἀνάμειναν ἔως οὐ νὰ κατουνέψουν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5260
βούλεται νὰ ἔχῃ βάλλει φύλαξιν ... ἔως οὐ νὰ τὸ ἔχη ἐπάρει
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 2899-900
- ῶμοσαν νὰ μὴ κοιμηθοῦν ἔστάνε ξημερώσῃ 15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 439 app. crit. (A)
ώς ἥκουσε ταύτας τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, ἀργὸν πολλὰ τοῦ ἐφαίνετον, ἔως ὅτου νὰ
ύποστρέψῃ ὅπισω εἰς τὸ καράβιν του, νὰ ὑπάγῃ τὴν ὁδὸν του
15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1444-6
- ἔκει τὴν ἔδοξεν τὸ νὰ κρυβῇ τὴν γραῖαν ἔστ ἀν νὰ ποίσῃ τὸ κακὸν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 1249-50
- κι οὐκ ἥθελον ν' ἀφήσουσιν τοὺς Φράγκους νὰ περάσουν, δσον νὰ ἐκπληρώσουσιν
τὲς συμφωνίες ἐκεῖνες 16th c./14th c., Chron. Mor. P 409-10
- ἔστάθην δυνατός, ώσώσπου νὰ διαβῇ τὸ πρᾶμαν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 10.4-5
- πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσκότωσαν ἀπὸ τὸ φουσάτον, ώσθε νὰ φθάσῃ ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ
Ἀλεξάνδρου 16th c., Diig. Alex. F 14.22-3 (Konstantinopoulos)
- ἀποὺ τὸ ρέστος, ώστε νὰ σώσου στὰ ὑπέρπυρα ρπά', νὰ δώσουν ἐκεινῶν ὅπού τὴν
θέλου καλογερέψει καὶ μνημονευτεῖ καὶ θαφτεῖ
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 92, 108.17-18
- ὅπλεγάρεται ὁ λεγόμενος κυρ-Αντώνης νὰ τοῦ δίδῃ κρασί ... ἔως νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὰ
ὑπέρπυρα ρν' 1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 256, 251.5-6

ἕτζι πάντα ἐδῶ ἐξήσαμεν εἰς εἰρήνη, ώστε πού δὲ ἔχθρὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γὰρ σπείρη το
ζιζάνιο

1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.8–9

ἀποσφόνιαξέ την (σκίλλαν) καλὰ εἰς τὸ ξύδι, ἔως νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ πλέον τινὰ ύγρότητα
17th c., LANDOS, *Geopon.* 187.25–6

εἶμαι δοῦλός σου, ώς ὅπου νὰ ποθάνω
17th–18th c./17th c., KONST. DIAK., *Ist. Makaritou Marko* 161

“Until” + Present Subjunctive (usually of future/modal auxiliaries, rarely progressive)

ἀφίνω νὰ ἔχῃ δὲ Δημήτριος τὴν διοίκησιν του ἀπὸ τὸ μοναστήριν ώστε νὰ θέλῃ
ξελθεῖν νὰ ύπάγῃ εἰς τὸν αὐθέντην μου τὸν βασιλέαν

ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 82.58–9

νὰ τὸ περιφυλάττῃ ... ἔως ὅπου νὰ ἔρχωνται πατέρες ἀπὸ τὴν ἄνωθεν μονὴν
1660, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969j: 1, 140.10–12

“let him continue to keep it until priests are coming from the above monastery”

“Before” + Aorist Subjunctive (single event; more rarely repeated/generic)

πρὶν τὴν εὔρης (τὴν τύχην), ἔχάσεις την, πρὶν τὴν ἰδῆς, ύπάγει
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 206

ἄν ἔπταισας, εἰπέ το, πρὶν σὲ καταδεσμήσωσι καὶ χάστης τὰ νερά σου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 536–7

πρὶν τὸ πιάσω χάνεται καὶ φεύγει ἐκ τὸ σκουτέλλιν
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 242

ἡρταν ... εἰς τὴν Λευκουσίαν ἀπεζά, πρὶν νὰ ξημερώσῃ
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron. A* 16.9–10

καὶ ξεφορτώσου τὰ κακὰ, πρίχου νὰ σὲ φονεύσου
16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 118

διμπρὸς παρὰ νὰ γεννηθῇ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐφάνησαν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τρεῖς ἥλιοι καὶ
τρία φεγγάρια

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.12–13

μίσσεψε ... πρὶ σὲ δῆ
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor. I*.241

προτοῦ σώσῃ ἐκεῖ, τὸν εἶχε φθονήσει ἡ γυναίκα του καὶ διέστις του καὶ τὸν
ἐσκοτώσανε

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.29–31

πρὶν νὰ σώσῃ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ηύρε τζακισμένον τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.32–3

NOTES

(i) In Cyprus *until*-conjunctions are sometimes used to mean “before”:

ἔξωδιασεν πεντακόχιες χιλιάδες δονομίσματα ώς που νὰ τοὺς (γιοὺς) φέρη
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 76.13–14

“he had spent 500,000 bezants before he recovered his sons”

ώς που νὰ φάγη δὲ Δημήτρης, ἔγραψεν ἡ ρήγαινα χαρτίν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 412.5–6

“before Dimitris finished eating, the queen wrote a letter”

(ii) πρὸ μή(ν) (νά) is sometimes used when there is a nuance of “precaution” or
“prevention”:

ἡρταν δέμπρός, πρὸ μὴν ἔρτη τὸ καράβι μι τὰ ροῦχα τους

1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 2, 52.28–9

3.4.3.2 Containing Past Indicatives (in Past Time Only)

“Until”

ἡντεστάθην ..., ἔως οὐ ἐπόνεσα καὶ ηύρα τὰς θείας γραφάς μαρτυροῦντας

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–7

ἀτός του ἐστάθηκεν ἐκεῖ ... ἔως οὐ καὶ ἐπληρώθηκεν τὸ κάστρον

14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7999–8000

ἀφέντεψεν, δέ διν ἐστέφθην ώς που καὶ ἐπέθανεν, λθ' χρόνους

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 58, 60.36, 1–2

ἔτρεχα ώστε κ' ἐτσάκισε τὸ σταύρωμαν ἡ μέρα

16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok. A* 12

οὐδὲν ἐλεῖψαν ἀποκεῖ, ώστε πού τελειώθη

16th c., Alex. Rim. 596

ἀνέμειναν ἔως οὐ ἔφθασεν ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἡ βασίλισσα

16th c., *Varl. & Ioas. (Lavras)* 75.26–7

ἔγω δὲν τὸ ἐπίστευα ώστε όπου ἐπῆγα εἰς τὸν τίμιον σταυρόν

17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 61–2

3.4.4 Other Types of Temporal Clause

3.4.4.1 Nominalized Verb Forms

(36) A nominalized perfective/aorist infinitive or a nominalized finite clause

containing an aorist subjunctive marked with νά may be used to mean “on
[X] doing Y”, i.e. as broadly equivalent to a temporal clause introduced by a
conjunction meaning “when”, “after”, “as soon as” but marked only for aspect
(with perfective aspect naturally interpreted as denoting a preceding event).

The tenselessness of subjunctives in this construction follows directly from the inherent
tenselessness of the infinitives for which they are substituted; both denote actions outside
the temporal framework of this world and acquire a time reference secondarily, through
their relation to the time of the event denoted by the main verb.

The subject position of an infinitive in this construction may be controlled by the subject
of the main verb if the two elements are coreferential. Alternatively, the infinitive may
have an overt nominative subject of its own, which may or may not be coreferential with
the subject of the main verb. If the infinitival subject is coreferential with the main-clause
subject, the latter is omitted (i.e. understood as having the content of the appropriate pro-
noun); if it is not coreferential, an overt subject is obligatory unless the verb is impersonal.

When a single nominative subject is placed between an infinitive and a main verb it is
often impossible to decide which of the two verbs it properly belongs to.

τό + Infinitive

- εύθυνς τὸ ίδειν ὁ Διγενής, τὴν κόρην συντυχάνει 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 934
- τὸ ἀκούσειν τὸ δνομαν ὁ Χρόνος ἐκ τὸν ξένον, ὅσπερ ἐκράτει τὸ χαρτίν, γοργὸν τὸ ἀποτυλίσσει 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 93–4
- τὸ λάβει τὰ πιττάκια, ... ἀνοίξαν τὰ προστάγματα καὶ ἀναγνώσαντα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7855–7
- τὸ ἀκούσει ὁ Ροῦσος ντὲ Σουλῆ ..., εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ' ἰσιάστησαν εἰς τοῦτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7927–8
- τὸ ίδει τὸν ὁ μιστρὸς Ντζεφρές, γλυκέα τὸν ἀποδέχτη 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8231
- τὸ ἔλθει ἡ πρωτοστρατόρισσα, ὁ πρίγκιπας τῆς λέγει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7703
- καὶ τὸ ίδειν ὁ βούβαλος ἐσέβη εἰς τὴν μέσην 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 1028
- ἔγω τὸ δεῖν ἐτρόμαξα 16th c./15th c., *BERGADIS, Apok.* V 53
- τό + νά-clause
- τὸ νά τὸν ίδη ὁ ἀμιράς, πιάνει, καταφίλει τὸν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 594
- τὸ ν' ἀργήσῃ λεῖ (ὁ πάγος) ..., καὶ χολλιάζουνται τυφλοὶ καὶ θεραπεύουνται 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 34.7–8
- τὸ νά δεῖ ὁ φρὲ Γιλαῖμ πώς ἐλειψεν ὁ Περρής ..., ἐννοιάστην πώς ἐπῆγεν νά ποισῃ νώση 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 58.17–18
- τὸ νά ξημερώσῃ, ἤρτεν ὁ Φανῆς ... εἰς τὸ σπίτιν τοῦ Τζωρτή 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 60.4–5
- τὸ νά τὸ δῶ (τὸ λάφιν), τὸ δόξευα κ' εἶχα τὸ σκοτωμένον 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 46
- ἔγραψε ὁ Ὁκτάβιος τοῦ Ἡρώδου δτι, παρευθὺς τὸ νά ίδῃ τὸν δρισμὸν του, νά ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν Ρώμην 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 341.27–9

NOTE

- (i) A few examples in later texts have aorist indicatives with or without νά. These appear to involve adaptations of the above in line with the form/sense of corresponding temporal clauses:

- τὸ{ν} νά τὸ ἐγένησεν (τὸ παϊδί), ἐστάθηκε ὅρθῳ εἰς τὰ ποδάρια του 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 335.6–7
- τὸ ήκουσε ὁ Ταμερλάνος, τοῦ ἐκακοφάνη πολλά ... νά παίρη τὴν ἀφεντία τους 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 31.10–12

3.4.4.2 Gerunds

- (37) A gerund (or an inflected participle) may perform the role of a temporal clause in describing situations that precede or overlap with the event described in the main clause; in the absence of a conjunction the exact temporal force has to be determined pragmatically from the context.

Inflected participles apart from the perfect passive are all but obsolete in vernacular LMedG and often poorly controlled (at least by ancient standards). Their use indicates a higher register and/or an official context (especially legal), and in their role as stylistically marked variants of gerunds they mainly follow the syntax of the latter in not allowing their subjects, overt or covert, to be coreferential with non-subjects in main clauses. But whereas gerunds are always active in form and meaning, participles may be either active or mediopassive. Mediopassive participles are particularly useful in the absence of a corresponding gerundial option, though many common deponent verbs (those with mediopassive morphology but active meanings) do form active gerunds: ἔρχοντας, φαίνοντας etc.

Accordingly, gerunds/participles function prototypically as active “subject-orientated adjuncts”, i.e. with a missing subject understood to be coreferential with the subject of the main verb, or as “absolute constructions”, i.e. with an overt subject of their own that is referentially distinct from that of the main verb. In practice, however, the two subjects are often coreferential, and in this respect gerundial/participial constructions follow the model of temporal clauses, cf. the non-coreferential subjects of *after X did this, Y did that* with the (optionally) coreferential subjects of *after X did this, s/he (= X) did that, or after s/he (= X) did this, X did that*.

When the subject of a gerund is coreferential with that of the main verb, therefore, the subject position is either empty and controlled by the main-verb subject (i.e. the two are automatically understood to corefer), or it is filled with a nominative subject to form an “improper” absolute construction, with the main-verb subject omitted and its pronominal content supplied by agreement morphology on the verb. Ideally, participles in this construction agree with the main-clause subject in number, gender and case (nominative) and their subject position is controlled, though various deviations from this norm are attested.

When the subject of a gerund is not coreferential with the main-verb subject, the position is filled unless the verb is impersonal; the subject may be nominative (making a true nominative absolute), or, in deference to ancient practice, genitive (making a genitive absolute), but genitive clitic pronouns are standard in the absence of nominative clitics (*τος* has a very restricted distribution). Ideally, inflected participles agree with their own subjects in number, gender and case (nominative or genitive), though again there are deviations. The subject of a genitive absolute, like that of a nominative absolute, may in practice be coreferential with that of the main clause.

The negative is either οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν or μή(ν) according to whether the writer is following the functional parallel with temporal clauses (where οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν is used with past/present indicatives) or the participial tradition (where μή(ν) had been the standard negator since Late Antiquity); the former is the normal option.

Perfective gerunds/participles are normally understood to denote an event taking place before that of the main clause, imperfective forms as denoting eventualities (at least partly) contemporaneous with the main-clause event, but perfective forms are in decline in the later period covered by this Grammar and imperfective forms are often used in an aspectually neutral way.

Nominative Subject (\pm control by/coreferentiality with main-clause subject)

- διαβόντα γάρ μικρὸς καιρός, ἀπέθανε ἡ κουντέσσα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8001
- ἀκούσοντά το οἱ ἄρχοντες, ... μεγάλως τὸ ἀνεχάρησαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 351–4
- δ καστελλᾶνος παρευτύς, οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, ... ὑποσχήθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8
- ἐκεῖνος δὲ δεξάμενος τῆς κόρης τὸ πιτάκιν, ἀνέθαλλεν ἡ ψυχίτσα του, ἔχάρηκεν
μεγάλως 15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* N 1110–11
- ἔμόσαν του δ σιρ Φιλιππε τε Ἰμπελήν ... καὶ δ μισέρ Τζουάν Ταπιέρ, καθώς ἐποίκαν
οἱ δελοιποὶ ἀφέντες, θέλοντα καὶ μὴ θέλοντα 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 56.26–8
- πηγαίνοντα ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ πάπα, πολλὰ ἐκατηγορησαν τοὺς Κυπριώτες 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 296.9–10
- χροικῶντα δ κουβερνούρης τὸ κακὸν θέλημαν τοῦ πάπα, ἔξανάστρεψεν ὅλους
μανταφόρους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 296.13–15
- σιμώνοντας ἡ ὥρα νὰ γεννηθῇ ο Χριστός, ἥλθεν ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς μέγα φῶς
16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.7–9
- δ γάιδαρος, ἰδῶντας τοῦτο, ἐκατηγόρησεν τότε τὸ ἀλογο πολλὰ
16th c., *NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth.* 53.6–7
- ἐτούτα λέγοντας ἡ Παρθένος Μαρία τῆς ἡγουμένης, φαίνεται πώς τήνε πάιρει καὶ
πάγει τήνε εἰς ἔναν τόπον σκοτεινὸν 17th c./16th c., *MOREZINOS, Klini* 235.12–13
- ἔλθοντος ἡ ὥρα, ἐστηκώθη τὸ φουσᾶτον νὰ πηγαίνῃ
17th c./?16th c., *Vios Filaret.* 241.38–9
- νὰ ἐμπορῇς ἀπὸ δὰ νὰ σοτοσκριβέρῃς τοῦτο τὸ χαρτὶ ἀπὸ τὸν ... αὐθέντη δούκα,
φυλαζόμενα ὅλλα ὅποὺ σοῦ χρεωστῶ
1549, Crete, *MARMARELI/DRAKAKIS 2005*: 141, 141.7–8
- καὶ τὸ ὅλλον ἡμισὸ [νὰ παίρνου]ν οἱ κοπιαστάδες, ἀβοηθῶντας ἡ προειρημένη
κυράτζα Σταμάτα στὴν φύτευσιν 1573, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI 2001a*: 2, 21.8–9
- πᾶσα γνωστικὸς ἀνθρωπος, δὲ κατέχοντας πότες ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος,
πρέπει καὶ τυχαίνει νὰ δρδινιαστῇ 1598, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987*: 14, 35.5–6
- ἰδόντας αὐτὰ, οἱ γιανιτζάροι του ἐφύγανε καὶ ἐδιάβησαν μὲ τὸν ἀδελφό του
17th c., *Chron. Tourk Soult.* 44.28–9
- περγῶντας λοιπὸν ... καλὰ τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ... πετῶντες πολλοὶ εἰς τοὺς
οὐρανούς, δνασταίνεται ἔνας βασιλέας εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν χώραν
17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.26–9
- τὸ δὲ ... γένος τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπρόκοπτε ..., δὲν λογιάζοντες ... τὴν γνώμην τοῦ
βασιλέως, μηδὲ φοβούμενοι τοὺς φοβερισμούς του
17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 32.3–5
- Genitive Subject (\pm coreferentiality with main-clause subject)
- ώς ἔνι θεοῦ θέλημα, ἃς γίνεται, δτι ..., συνεργοῦντος μου τοῦ Κυρίου, αὐτὰ εἰν τὸ
ἔργον μου
12th c./11th c., *NIKON, Logos* 9 314.27–9

3 Adverbial Clauses

- τοῦτο δὲ κάμοῦ ἀκούσαντος, ἀπόστειλα γραφὴν εἰς τὸν ἡγούμενον
?1125, Sicily, *CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX*: 18, 417.4
- τοῦ γάμου λυομένου, ἃς τρέφουνται τὰ παιδιά ἀπὸ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ πατρικά
ca. 1300, Cyprus, *MARUHN 1981*: 232.195
- οἱ συγγενεῖς του ἐγένοντο, καὶ μὴ θελών τοῦ δούκα 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1025 app. crit.
- θανατικοῦ γενομένου ... καὶ φαμιλικῶς εύρισκομένων εἰς κάστρον ἐν τῶν ἐκεῖσε
κεφαλαστεύοντες ... , ἀπέθανε ... τὸ παιδίν καὶ ... δ πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ... ἡ μήτηρ
αὐτοῦ
16th c./15th c., *SFRANTZIS, Chron.* 12.1–8
- τὸ χάρισμα ὀπόχω γάδε θέλω νὰ τὸ κρύψω, ζῶντα μου θέλω κανενὸς νὰ τοῦ τ'
ἀποκαλύψω
16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 276–6B
- καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀφεντίας, ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ
μπάιλου τοῦ Γαλατᾶ ἔδειξεν
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroθ.* (1572) 15–17
- καὶ τὴν ἔτερην ἀποληφθὲν ἀπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν νὰ τήνε μοιράζουν ἐφ' ἡμισίας διός του ...
μὲ τὸν ἄγκονά του ..., ἀποτυχόντας (σ)του τοῦ προειρημένου κυρ Ἄλισαντρου
1579, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI 2001a*: 5, 23.14–16
- μὴ ἔρχοντάς τους στὸ ἄνωθεν τέρμενον, νὰ ἡμποροῦν οἱ κριτάδες ν' ἀποφασίσουν
διὰ γνώμη τους
1582, Kefalonia, *ZAPANDI 2001a*: 135, 89.2–3
- ἀποθανόντας τοῦ καλογέρου, ν' ἀπομένη τὸ λεγόμενο ἀμπέλι στὰ παιδιά τοῦ
ἄνωθεν Λιγνοῦ
1600, Crete, *BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987*: 92, 108.10–11
- ὅποιος ἀγαπᾶ ἐμένα ζῶντ(ας) μου, ἐνα τους παρακαλῶ, ν' ἀγαποῦσι τὴν μάνα μου
καὶ τὰ παιδιά μου δέκα
1662, Sifnos, *MERTZIOS 1958a*: 1, 110.144–5
- κάθοντά σου εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, γελᾶς ἡ συντυχαίνεις;
17th c., Cyprus, *CHRISTODOULOU 1983*: A, 406.389

NOTES

- (i) According to context, a gerundial clause may take on causal or circumstantial nuances, as expected.
- (ii) In colloquial texts a missing subject may sometimes not be linked directly to the main-clause subject and a commonsense interpretation is required; e.g. in the following the subject of the gerund is coreferential with the subject of a subordinate clause:

παγαίνοντας εἰς τὸ σπίτι του, ... ἀπὸ τὸ σακοῦλι, δπου ἔβαλε τὸ κεφάλι, ἔτρεχεν
αἴμα!

16th c., *DIONYS., Istor.* 253.23–4

3.5 Causal Clauses

- (38) Causal clauses are introduced by conjunctions meaning “because” or “since” and contain past/present indicative or future/modal verb forms according to the sense required.

In real (past/present) time the action or situation described in a causal clause must precede or overlap with the eventuality that it provides a cause or reason for.

But a causal clause may also represent a motivating belief held at the time of speaking about what will/would happen in the future as a *consequence* of the main-clause event (see NOTE (ii) below for EMG examples).

Typical LMedG/EMG causal conjunctions are:

"because": δτι, διότι, διατό, διοῦ; διατή/(δ)γιατί

"since": ἐπει/ἐπειδή(τις), ἔσ(τ)οντας (νά, ὅπού/πού), στάντες (νά, καὶ νά).

The conjunctions δτι and διότι "because" are used throughout the period of this Grammar; the second, in origin, is a clarification of the former involving prefixation of δι(ά) "because of".

As often happens cross-linguistically, διστή "why" (retained alongside its later development γιατί) also came to mean "because".

"Εσ(τ)οντας and στάντες (in use alongside the traditional ἐπει/ἐπειδή "since") are in origin gerunds of the verb "be", first used in tenseless absolute constructions containing νά-subjunctives marked only for aspect, "[X's performance of Y] being the case". Subsequently they came to be used with tensed indicative forms, in the case of ἔστοντας often in combination with ὅπού (and occasionally with retention of νά), "it being the case that [X happens/happened]". From this, it was a simple step to reinterpretation as a conjunction meaning "since", "given that".

"Because"

ώς τὸ ήκουσα ὁ δοῦλος σου χαρᾶς πολλῆς ἐπλήσθην, δτι ἡ κοιλιά μου ηύκαίρησεν
ἀπὸ τὴν ἀφαγίαν

14th c./12th c., Ptoch. I 258-9

χθὲς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐσφάξαμεν ἡδονικὰ κοράσια, διότι οὐδὲν ἡθέλασιν ώσάν τάς ἐλαλοῦμαν
15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 72-3

καὶ ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν ... δτι ἐξήχυσεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ ἐπνίξεν χιλιάδας ν' καὶ β'
1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.7-9

οὐκ ἡμπορῶ σᾶς γράψει, διστή βαρειῶμαι γράφει τα διὰ τὴν πολυγραφίαν
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7802-3

ὅλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελᾶ, ... διότι ἐστράφη ἄνεργος, τὴν ἔξοδόν του ἔχάσε
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8185-6

οἱ βοσκοὶ ... ἀστκάθησαν ἀπάνω, συχυμένοι διότι ἐκοιμοῦνταν
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 332.12-14

ἡ ... Μακαρία Κουκάκαινα ... εύρισκεται ὀχαμνά, διστή ἔναι γερόντισσα
1596, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 1, 164.2-4

ὁ πατέρας του δὲν τὸν ἐδέχτη, διστή ἐφοβάτονε ἀπὸ τὸν σουλτάνον Μουράτη
17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soutl. 25.26-7

παρακαλῶ τὴν πανιερότη σου νά μοῦ τσὶ στείλης τσὶ τάβλες, δγιατή μοῦ κάνουσι
μεγάλη χρεία

1610, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 2, 168.24-5

νά μοῦ στείλης δύο ὠρολόγια ... δτι μὲ χρειάζονται γιά τὰ παιδιά μου

1697, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 37, 226.11-13

"Since"

ἐπει ... τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια δρίζουν δτι ὁ πρίγκιπας, ... σωματικῶς νά
ἀπέρχεται ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7880-3

ἔκαμε καὶ ἔκαμάν του ἄλλην εἰς τύπωσιν ..., ἐπειδή αὐτὸς ἔναι μεγαλύτερος βασιλεὺς
παρὰ ὅλους

16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 333.17-21

ἔστειλεν ἔσοδες καὶ κάτεργα δ πάπτας ..., ἔσοντας ὅπού πολλές φορές τὸ ἐβουλήθησαν
(να γένει ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν) 17th c./16th c., Chron. Ps.-Doroīth. (1631) 229.40-2
τοῦ ἐκακοφάνη πολλά, ἔσοντας νά εἶναι ὅλοι μίας πιστῆς

17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soutl. 31.11-12

στάντες καὶ ... νά μὴν ἔχω νά δώσω

1614, Crete, ILIAKIS 2008: 219, 206.15-6

στάντες νά χε γυναίκα ἐπαρμένη

1628, Crete, VARZELIOTI 2000: 2, 333.16

νά μὴν ἔχῃ ἔξουσίαν ... κανένας ... νά τούς ἐνοχλήσῃ, ἔστοντας ὅπού ἔγινε μὲ κοινὴν
γνώμην καὶ βουλήν πάντων τῶν καθηγουμένων

1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.13-15

θέλω τὸν ἐγκαλέσειν εἰς τὴν ὁραν τῆς κρίσεως, ἐπειδή καὶ ἀφέρωσά το διὰ ψυχικὴν
μου σωτηρίαν

1683, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 18, 45.8-10

κανένας δὲν ἀπεκοτοῦσε νά φανερωθῇ, ἔστοντας ἐκεῖνοι οἱ φοβεροὶ πειράτες νά
ἐστεκόντασι μὲ τὸ σπαθί στὸ χέρι

18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 22.9-11

ἐπειδήτις καὶ δὲν ἡξεύρει νά γράφη

1706, Zakynthos, Zois 1941: 1, 110.31

NOTES

(i) With verbs of emotion δτι, διότι, γιατί etc. come close to introducing complements,
cf. *I am angry because/that ... :*

τὸν αὐθεντόπουλόν μου συγχαίρομαι δτι ηύτυχησεν καὶ ἐκέρδησεν βρεφόθεν
?12th c. or 13th-14th c., Eisit. f.1v.18-20

τὰ ροῦχα ... μέρτσα τὰ ἔλαβα καὶ κρῆμα εἰς τὸν κόπον ... γιατί ἐβγῆκε πολλὰ
ἀχαμινό

1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.10-12

(ii) A natural extension is the substitution of factive ὅπού "in so far as" in later texts when
the cause/reason is regarded as true (though many of the clauses in question can also
be treated as relatives, see 5.3.3):

νά ἐβγοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀνδλπιδου χρέους, ὅπού δὲν ἔχομεν ... ἀλλοῦ
ἐλπίδα

1583, ?Athens, MERTZIOS 1954: 1, 124.28-9

θωρῶντας τὸν καὶ λυπῶντας τὸν ὅπού ἤτονε εἰς τὴν φυλακή
1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 752, 652-653.4-6

καὶ ἵτα νά τὸν ἐδεκτῷ ἔγω νά τοῦ κάμω ἡ γι-ἀνήπορη, ὅπού ... ἵτα εἶχα ἔγω γίνει
στὸ κόσμο;

1612, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 4, 171.15-16

(iii) Since there is a temporal relation between causes/reasons and main-clause events,
and since καὶ is regularly used to link clauses denoting events that follow one another

in time, καὶ is often used to conjoin clauses that stand in a causal relationship in place of formal subordination, especially in more colloquial styles. Some degree of grammaticalization appears to be involved given the adaptation of καὶ to δκαὶ to resemble a "true" conjunction:

τὰ ποκάμισα ..., μὴν ἔχης καμίαν ἔγνοια, δκαὶ ... θέλω σου τα πέψει
1498, Crete, Manoussacas 1976: 3, 21.15–16

μηδὲν πέψῃς ἄτυχους (μαντατοφόρους) καὶ χάστης πολλά
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. O 22.35–6

ἀπὸ πτωχὸν μὴ δανεισθῆς καὶ κλαίει καὶ ἀκολουθᾶ σε! 16th c./?, Paroim. H 44
ὅς πάμενε, συντρόφισσες, κ' ἐπέρασε ἡ ὥρα 17th–18th c./17th c., Zinon Prol. 168

(iv) Conjunctions normally introducing other types of adverbial clause are occasionally used causally, e.g. ἀφῶν/ἀφόν etc., lit. "after", or ἅμα etc., lit. "as soon as" (cf. 3.4.1), καθώς etc., lit. "as" (cf. 3.7):

δλίγοι ἀνθρωποι ἡμπτοροῦν νὰ τὸ (κάστρο) ἔχουσι φυλάττει, ἀφῶν ἔχει
σωτάρχισιν κ' ἔνι ἀφιωμένον 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8273–4

ἔθελέν τους ἀξαμινιάσειν ἐκεῖνος μὲ τὸν βισκούντην, καθώς ἤσαν κλησιαστικοί
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 32.7–8

ἅμα σὲ ἀπάντησα ἔδω, κάνει χρεία νὰ σὲ πάρω 16th c., Nov. II 162.26–7

(v) Very occasionally in later texts a νά-clause (± διά) is used to express a cause/reason without a preceding conjunction; the subject is always omitted, being coreferential with the main-clause subject, and the verb is marked for aspect but not for tense (cf. 3.4.2, NOTE (i) for similar temporal clauses):

ἐπῆγες καὶ κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου, νὰ μὴν λυπηθῆς τὰ παιδία σου, καὶ τὸν
πλοῦτον ... νὰ λογιάστης γιὰ μουδὲ τίποτες, καὶ ἐπρόκρινες νὰ εἶσαι
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Iolas. 33.29–32

"you went against your nature, not pitying your children and caring nothing for wealth, you ..."

ἔνας παράσιτος ὅποιού ... ἐκράζουσιν Φαγότος, διὰ νὰ εἶναι ἀνθρωπος χοντρὸς
..., εἴπεν τοῦ Βασιλέως 17th c., Bertoldos 28.2–5

"a parasite, who, being a fat man, was called 'Glutton', spoke to the king"

3.6 Concessive Clauses

(39) Concessive clauses are introduced by (ἄν) καλὰ καὶ, ἀνέναι καὶ (when following a main clause), μὲ δλο πού, "(al)though"; simple ἄν καὶ is not attested in the corpus before the 17th/18th c. They may also be introduced by καὶ ἄν, καὶ ἃς "even if"/"even though". See also on conditionals in 3.3.

Conjunctions meaning "although" take present/past indicatives, those meaning "even if/even though" naturally take the same range of tenses as the corresponding conditional conjunction.

δ Θεός ἐλευθερώσῃ σε καὶ ἃς εἶσαι ψωμοζήτης 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 216

αύτὸς δ Εὐλάλιος καὶ ἀν ἐλθῃ ... τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἔξορθώνουσι ... πατέρα τῶν
γραμματικῶν 15th c./12th c., Ptoch. (Maiuri) 43–7

τὸν κόσμον καὶ ἀν ἐγύρευες, κάλλιον οὐκ εἶχες εὔρειν 15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 984

τὸ ἔγραψα ... διὰ νὰ μὴν ἀπελπίζεται τινὰς κάν ἀμαρτωλὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἀν ἔναι
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 415.22–3

σαράντ' ὁγιούς καὶ ἀν ἔκραζες μὲ πόθο νὰ γυρεύης, τές λειτουργιές σου χάνεις τες,
μὰ μένα δὲν μοῦ φεύγεις 16th c., Alfav. 10 71–2

χτύπησε, καλὰ καὶ γρινιασμένη τὴν εἰδα δψες ..., μὴν εἶν' κιανεις στὸ σπίτι της
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Katz. II.93–5

κι ἀν εἶναι κι ὁς τὴ σήμερο δὲν εἶναι παντρεμένη, μ' δλο πού τόσοι βασιλιοι τὴν ἔχου
ζητημένη, δὲν ἔν' παρὰ γιατί πονεῖ ... ἡ καρδιά μου 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Erof. I.533–5

γιὰ ποιὰ 'φορμή μακρὰ νὰ θὰ γυρεύης θεριά ..., ἄν ἔν κ' ἐσύ ἔχεις ἔνα θεριό ὅγριο
πλιὰ σιμά σου 17th c., Pist. voskos I 1.79–83

δ ὅποιος, ἄν καλὰ καὶ εἶμαι ἀμαρτωλός, μὲ δλον ἐτοῦτο ἐπρογνώριζα ἔως ὅποι
μέλλει νὰ φθάσῃ ἡ Ἐκκλησία 17th c., Diath. Nikon Metan. 57–9

καὶ μοιράσασιν ... τὴν ἀνωθεν φυτέαν ..., καλὰ καὶ ἀπού τὴν ὥραν ὅποι ἀπόθανεν δ
ποτὲ ἀφέντης Ξερίτης ἔτυχαινε νὰ τὴ μοιράσου 1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 299, 285.4–5

ἀγκαλὰ καὶ εἶναι πτωχεία εἰς τοῦτο τὸ νησί, μολοταῦτα ... τοὺς ἔβοηθήσαμεν
1684, Patmos, HOFMANN 1928: 9a, 70.13–15

ἔγὼ βασιλικὴν τιμὴν σοῦ ἔκαμα, ἄν καὶ ἤσουν καὶ ἔχθρος μου
18th c./17th c., Alex. Fyll. 67.24–5

δὲν εἶναι θίοιν τῶν ... καρβαλιέρων τὸ νὰ δείχνουν τές πληγές τους, ἄν καὶ νὰ ἤτοι
τόσες μεγάλες ὅποι νὰ ἔβγαίνουν τὰ ἄντερά τους 18th c., Don Kis. 47.11–13

NOTES

(i) Relative clauses introduced by ὅποι (see 5.3.3) may sometimes take on a concessive/temporal force ("though"/"when") and express a reaction to/contrast with what has preceded ("whereas"):

εἶμαστεν χορτασμένοι ... πού μαστεν πεινασμένοι ... τί νὰ γένη, πού φάγαμε τὰ
ἄλογα, ὅπού μαστεν χρειασμένοι: 16th c., Alex. Rim. 899–902

ἄμή δεῖξε μου τὸ πῶς ἔσεις γίνεσθε, ὅπού γυναῖκες ούδεν ἔχετε
16th c., Diig. Alex. F 44.11–12 (Konstantinopoulos)

ἀπ' αὐτὴν (περηφανία) ἔσέπεσε Σατᾶν ὁ ἔωσφόρος καὶ 'γίνη σκοτεινόμορφος,
ὅπούτον λαμπτροφόρος 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., Ist. Vlach. 1603–4

ἔκεινος ἤθελεν εἶστεν ζωντανός, ὅπού τώρα εἶναι ἀπεθαμένος
17th c., Bertoldin. 96.26–7

3.7 Comparative Clauses

(40) Clauses comparing the manner in which a main-clause event took place with some other eventuality (e.g. *A happened [as X hoped (it would)]/in the (same) way that B happened*) are introduced by ώσ/ώσάν/ώσπερ; (ώσ) καθώς/καθά/καταπῶς; οίον/δγοιον/γοιόν/ώς γοιον/ώς γοιόν. These conjunctions are used with indicatives when the event compared is real, “(just) as”, and with νά + conditional forms when it is hypothetical/counterfactual, “as if”.

There are no examples in the database of (ώσ) καθώς, καθά, καταπῶς used with conditional verb forms, and these appear to have been used exclusively for accurate/factual comparisons.

“Ογοιον, γοιόν, ώς γοιον are characteristically Cypriot forms.”

Indicatives (present, imperfect, aorist, pluperfect)

- ού γάρ είν ἀνάγκη ... περὶ πίστεως δογματίζειν ..., καθώς καὶ προεῖπα
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 150.23-4
- ᾶς μείνη δ τόπος ἔρημος, ᾶς γένη ώς ἡτον πρῶτον 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 283
- καθείς κοιμᾶται ώς ἔστρωσεν, ώς ἔσπειρεν θερίζει 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 365
- ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου ... νὰ τὴν ἐπέπεσα καθά ἡτον φουσκωμένη
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 219-20
- κι ὕμοσε δ μπάιλος πρότερον καὶ τότε οἱ λίζιοι ἀνθρῶποι, νὰ είναι δοῦλοι καὶ πιστοί
... ώς ἔνι τὸ συνήθειον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7930-2
- ἡτον πρώτη σύμβια ... τοῦ ἀφέντη τῆς Καρύταινας, ώσάν σὲ τὸ ἀφηγήθην
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8004-5
- ἔχομέν σε ἀδελφὸν καὶ συλλειτουργὸν καὶ ἥδη, καθώς δρᾶς, καὶ γράφομέν σοι τὰ περὶ
τούτου 1376, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 255, 486.16-17
- αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν τὸ κενὸν χρέος, ώσπερ χρεωστοῦμεν οἱ ἀπαξάπαντες
14th-15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147-8.5-6
- δρισεν νὰ τὰ καταλύσω, καὶ νὰ τὰ χαλάσω ἐκ θεμελίων, ώσπερ ἐποίησα καὶ τὴν
Θεσσαλονίκην 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.16
- μηδὲν μετανώσῃς ώς γοιὸν ἐποίκες καὶ τὲς ἄλλε(s) φορές
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 206.24-5
- μωρὸν παιδὶν τὸ φτιάζουν, γοιὸν τὸν θωρεῖς ἔδα τζωγγραφισμένον
16th c./15th-16th c., Cypr. *Canz.* 18.15-16
- ἴγινεν ἔτσι ώς καθώς εἶπεν καὶ ἐπροφήτευσεν ἐκείνη ἡ γραία
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 334.9-10
- Ἐλα νὰ πᾶμε εἰς τὸ σπίτι μου, νὰ σταθῆς νὰ ῥδινιάσω τὰ παιδιά μου, τὸ σπίτι μου,
καταπῶς ἔναι ή τάξη 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.29-31
- σὲ παρακαλοῦμε νὰ εἰμεστεν Φράγκοι λίμπεροι, ώς καθώς γράφομε ἀπὸ πάνω
1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41-2
- είντα μιλοῦσι τὰ πουλιά ξεύρει, σάν εἶχ' ἀκούσει
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor.* I.267

3 Adverbial Clauses

- οἱ Ούγγαροι, ἀν ἡθέλανε ἐμπῆ 'ς τὸν πόλεμον ώσάν ἐμπήκανε οἱ Φραντζέζοι,
ἐκερδέζανε τὸν πόλεμο
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.11-12
- τὶ ἄλλον καλὸν θὲ νὰ ἐκδέχουνται ἀπ' ἑκεῖνους, μόνον νὰ παίρνουσιν, ἀν ἔχουν
τίβοτις, καθώς τὸ κάνουν τὰ κοινόβια
1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.50-1
- εἰς τὸ τέλος της θέλει εὔρει πολλὰ ὀγαθά, καθώς τὰ εύρήκασι καὶ οἱ πρωτύτεροι
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 30.9-10
- εἶδα τὸ ἄστρον σάν μοῦ ἔλέγασιν οἱ χωριάτες, καὶ ἐπληροφορήθηκα
17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 62-3
- τοὶ γάμους σου ἔρχεται νὰ τιμήσῃ ὁ βασιλιός τῆς Πέρσιας, σάν εἶχα σου μιλήσει
17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* III.215-16
- ἔδωσαμεν καὶ τοῦ Κουτλουμουσίου μοναστηρίου τὸν "Ἄγιον Νικόλαον Σιμάτου ...,"
ώς καθώς διαλαμβάνει τὸ παλαιόν γράμμα τοῦ Πρωτάτου
1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.8-11
- τὸ ἄλλον ἥμισον ἔχάρισέν το ... καὶ νὰ γινε ὅλον τοῦ μοναστηρίου βακούφιν δγοιον
τὸ εἶχεν καὶ πρῶτα
1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.8-11
- Conditional Forms
- δ ρῆγας ὠρισεν ... δσοι ... χρεωστοῦν ὄμάτζια, τοῦ Ρούσου νὰ τὰ ποιήσουσιν ...
ώσπερ νὰ ἡτο δλοστινὸς δ ρῆγας ἀπατός του
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7858-62
- ἔκλαψεν καὶ ἐθρήνησεν ώσπερ νὰ εἶχεν χάσει τὸ ρηγάτον <τὸ> τῆς Φραγκίας
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8179-80
- ἐπαρέδωκέν του καὶ τὸ κάτεργον, ώσγοιον νὰ 'χεν εἰσταί δικόν του
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron. A* 12.17-18
- ἔγδύνουνται ... ἀποὺ τὰ σπίτιαν καὶ ἀπὸ ὅλα τως τὰ δικαιώματα σάν νὰ μὴν τὰ
θέλασιν ἔχει ποτέ¹
1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.13-14
- τοῦ δόπιου δίδει ἀουτοριτάν, ώσάν νὰ ἡτον τὸ ἔδικόν της κορμίν, δτι νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ
τήγε ντεφεντέρη
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4
- κάθα λογῆς ψυχικόν γή χάρη δπού νὰ ἔκαμεν ... γιά τὸ ἀνωθεν ἀμπέλι νὰ είναι
κομμένα καὶ ἀνουλάδα ώσάν ποτὲ νὰ μὴν εἶχεν γενεῖ
1610, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 651, 568.6-7

NOTE

- (i) There is overlap between manner and temporal conjunctions reflected, for example, in the dual use of (ώσ)σάν, “as”/“when”, cf. on temporal clauses in 3.4.
- (41) Clauses comparing less favoured alternatives to prospective/hypothetical situations presented in a main clause (e.g. *X will/would do A [rather than (do) B]*) are introduced by παρὰ νά + subjunctive (prospective) or conditional (hypothetical/counterfactual). Clauses comparing unrealized alternatives to real-time events (e.g. *X did A [rather than (doing) B]*), or activities carried out to a greater/lesser degree than such events (e.g. *X did A [more/less than (s/he did) B]*), are introduced by παρὰ πτού + indicative.

Prospective

- σήμερον ἄς ἀποθάνωμεν παρὰ νὰ ἐντραποῦμεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5396
καλλιον τὸ χω νὰ ἀποθάνω, παρὰ νὰ μοῦ σηκώσῃ ἑκεῖνον ἀπού μοῦ ἔδωκεν
 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR.*, *Chron. A* 24.7–8
 κι' ἵντα μπορῶ, νὰ ζήσης, παρὴ στὸ λάκκο σήμερο ... νὰ πά σὲ θάψω ...;
 17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSIKIS*, *Katz.* III.112–14

*Hypothetical/Counterfactual**"Would Have"*

- ἥθελεν καλλιον νὰ εἶχεν χάσει μίαν ἀπὸ τές χῶρες του ..., παρὰ νὰ εἴχασιν ποσῶς
 τὸν Κουραδὴ σκοτώσει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7085–7

"Would"

- πρῶτα ν' ἀπόθαναν καὶ νὰ τοὺς ἀκληρῆσαν, παρὰ νὰ τοὺς ἔβγαλασιν ἐκ τὰ συνήθεια
 ποὺ ἔχουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7904–5

Real Time

- αὐτὸς πλέον ἐβλάβετονε παρὰ ἀπού ὠφελείτονε
 17th c./16th c., *MOREZINOS*, *Klini* 56.23–4

NOTES

- (i) In texts from the end of the period covered by this Grammar παρὰ (ποὺ) νὰ + subjunctive is also used with comparative temporal adverbs (= "sooner/later than"), after ἄλλος (= "(anyone/anything) other than"), and with negated verbs of ability (= "cannot (be otherwise) than"/"cannot but"):

ἔδιάβη καὶ ἔβαλε τοὺς χριστιανοὺς 's τὴν μέση πρωτύτερα παρὰ νὰ σώσῃ ὁ
 Σιγισμόντος
 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 33.20–1
 γιατὶ ἔχουν τόσες παρρησίες π' ἀν εἰχα ἐκατὸ γλῶσσες ... τὰ χειλη δὲν μποροῦσι
παρὰ ποὺ ν' ἀποφρίζουνε καὶ νὰ μὴ δυναστοῦσι
 17th–18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 65–8

δὲν θέλω ἄλλο ἀπὸ λόγου σου παρὰ νὰ γυρίσῃς εἰς τὸ Τομπόζο, νὰ ὑπάγης ἐκ
 μέρους μου εἰς ἑκεῖνην τὴν σινιόρα 18th c., *Don Kis.* 51.16–18

- (ii) Adverbs/conjunctions with closely related meanings (e.g. "except", "but for") are used in the same way:

πῶς νὰ τὸν ἀποδέξεται, πῶς νὰ τὸν χαιρετήσῃ, εἰμὴ νὰ λέγῃ ὅτι ἀπιστος καὶ νὰ
 τὸν θανατώσῃ; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4898–9
 ἡ παροῦσα μου ταπεινὴ δὲν εἶναι διὰ ἄλλην αἰτίαν πάρεξ νὰ τῆς ἀναγγείλω, ὅτι
 1658, Cyprus, *TSIRPANLIS* 1973: 106, 160.5–6

- (iii) Occasionally περὶ/περοῦ appears in place of παρά, especially in texts composed in a more vernacular style:

καλλιον τὸ ἔχω, θάνατον σήμερον ν' ἀποθάνω περὶ νὰ εἰποῦσιν ἀλλαχοῦ νὰ μὲ
 κατηγορήσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1134–5

3 Adverbial Clauses

- καλλιον τοῦ νὰ ἀποθάνῃ περὶ νὰ μείνῃ ἀνεργος τοῦ νὰ μὴ διαφορήσῃ
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8187–8
 ἔκρινα ὅτι νὰ καγοῦν τὰ κάτεργα καὶ ξύλα περοῦ λαὸς δ τῶν Γραικῶν ἐνωθῆ μὲ
 τοὺς Φράγκους 16th c./15th c., *LIMEN.*, *Velis.* (Λ) 265–6
καλλιον ἔναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ κείτεται ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην περὶ νὰ ἔχῃ τὰ
 βάρη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 28.19–21 (Konstantinopoulos)

3.8 Other Adverbial Clauses

- (42) An articular (nominalized) infinitive may be governed by a preposition and function in the manner of an English gerund: *after/because of/by ... [X] doing Y*. In more popular styles νὰ + subjunctive may be substituted for the infinitive when the meaning is one of purpose or intent.

Only in more elevated writing can the article be inflected in a case other than the accusative or the infinitive have an overt (accusative) subject of its own; normally, an empty subject position is controlled by the subject of the main verb.

In general, these constructions are characteristic of texts from the earlier medieval period, and survive later chiefly as formulaic phrases.

tό + Infinitive

- ἥρξεν ὁ Λιεζάρης εἰς τὸ λέγειν 1142, Sicily, *CUSA* 1868/82: Coll. V: 6, 303.25
μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καρτερεῖ ὁ κριτής ἡμέρας ι'
 ca. 1300, Cyprus, *SIMON* 1973: 73.170–1
 τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλαττωμένον εἶχε ἐκ τοῦ μὴ φαίνεσθαι τινα παρὰ τοῦ κήπου τότε
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 287–8
 ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος μετὰ τὸ βαπτιστῆναι εἶπεν
 17th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS*, *Chron. R* 65.41–2

NOTE

- (i) Nominalized infinitives governed by a preposition are also used to complement adjectives, e.g. "nice to look at", "hard to please" etc.:
 ὁ τυφλὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐγένηκεν ἔξακουστος καὶ εἰς τὸ βλέπειν φίνος
 17th c., *PROSOPAS*, *Peri tyflou* 143–4

tό + νά-clause

- τὸ κατούδιν μας στήσας εἰς τὸ τραπέζιν, διὰ τὸ νὰ εἰποῦν ὅτι ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖνο τὴν
 ζημίαν
 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 264–5
 ἀφίνω καὶ ἐπτὰ ιερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων σιτάριν εἰς τὸ νὰ μὲ ποιήσουν ἀπὸ μ'
 λειτουργιῶν ὁ καθένας ἔκαστος
 ca. 1270, Athos, *BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 82.55

- (43) Prepositions/adverbs used as conjunctions meaning "without" take a finite clause containing a subjunctive (rarely a conditional) verb-form marked with νά.

- πᾶσα στρατιώτης εύγενής πρέπει νὰ τοὺς λυπᾶται διατὸ ἀπέθαναν ἄδικα, δίχως νὰ πολεμήσουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1160–1
- ἥμεῖς ... οὐδὲν ἔχομεν τὴν ἔξουσίαν ἄνευ νὰ ἥσαν κι ἄλλοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7911–12
- ἀφότου ἔφυγεν δίχα νὰ πολεμήσῃ ... πῶς ἡμποροῦμε ἥμεῖς πεζοὶ νὰ βλάψωμεν τὸν τόπον;
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 9177–81
- πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔσφαξε δίχως νὰ ἔχουν πταῖσμα 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1454
- καὶ θέλεις εἰσταν ἀπότορμος ... νὰ τοὺς ὁρίζεις νὰ πηγαίνουν εἰς τές χρῆσε(ς) σου χωρὶς νὰ ἔχης ἔννοιαν ἵντα νὰ τοὺς πλερώστης
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 22.30–3
- νὰ δώσῃ τὴν πρόβα πασανοῦ κομματίου τῆς ἀλτελαρίας ὅπου ἡ μπάλλα του νὰ ὑπάρχῃ
ἀπὸ βολίμι καθάριο χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃ σίδερο
?15th–16th c., *Heptanese, MORGAN* 1954: 60.33–4
- ἔπεσε ἡ τέντα του ... χωρὶς ἄνεμον καὶ χωρὶς νὰ τὴν σείσῃ τινάς
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 39.3

4

Verbs and Verb Phrases

Verb Phrases (VPs) function as the predicates of clauses (see 1.1). The “core” of every VP is a verb form, the head of the phrase, together with its complements, if any. The traditional subcategorization into intransitive verbs (taking no object complement), transitive verbs (taking a direct object complement) and ditransitive verbs (taking both a direct object and an indirect object or other additional complement) deals only with nominal and certain prepositional phrase complements; other subclasses of verb may also take, e.g., sentential complements; cf. Chapter 2.

Verbs govern their complements in a variety of ways. Item-specific requirements (e.g. the choice of preposition in *rely on*) are a matter for the lexicon, but some overall principles can be established. General government requirements include the assignment of specified cases to nominal phrases carrying particular grammatical functions (see 5.1), and of particular conjunctions or verb forms to different types of complement clause (see Chapter 2). Prepositional phrase complements of various types may also be required to have particular prepositions (6.1). The various “markers” of complement status are essentially grammatical in nature, though there may be additional semantic factors in specific cases.

A VP may also contain a range of more “peripheral” adverbial adjuncts, including adverbs/adverb phrases (6.2), nominal and prepositional phrases used adverbially (5.1 and 6.1), and adverbial clauses (Chapter 3). These are unmarked by the verb, and the combination of lexical, morphological and syntactic properties in any given adjunct typically carries semantic rather than grammatical information.

This chapter deals specifically with the grammatical categories and functions of verbs themselves, i.e. independently of their co-occurring complements and adjuncts, whose properties are discussed elsewhere, as noted above.

Verb forms are either finite, i.e. inflected for values of person (1st, 2nd or 3rd) and number (singular or plural), or non-finite, i.e. not so inflected; in LMedG/EMG the non-finite forms comprise gerunds/participles and infinitives. Agreement of finite verbs with their subjects in person and number is an overt marker of the predication relation (1.1). This relation also holds in non-finite clauses, but the lack of person/number agreement in non-finite verb forms is typically associated with the absence of overt subjects leading to grammatical and referential “control” of the empty subject position by the subject of the main clause; gerunds and participles used “absolutely” do, however, have overt subjects of their own. See 2.2; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), and 3.8.

The full set of finite verb forms, including periphrases with finite auxiliaries, is organized into paradigms, each of which is defined by specific values for some or all of the following categories: time reference (past, present, future), aspect (perfective, imperfective), mood (indicative, subjunctive, imperative), and voice (active, [middle]: residual as a

distinct category for the perfective stem in some verbs], mediopassive). Time reference is a property only of indicatives and of non-indicative forms that may be used, *inter alia*, to refer to the future; only active transitive and ditransitive verbs allow grammatical alternation of voice; non-finite infinitives, gerunds and participles are marked only for aspect and voice (though gerunds are always active in form and meaning, and participles [residual apart from the perfect passive] agree with their controlling nominals in number, gender and case, but not in person).

Each member of each paradigm then carries a particular person/number combination (1 sg., 2 sg., 3 sg.; 1 pl., 2 pl., 3 pl.) so that every finite form can be given an unambiguous identifying label, e.g. "2 pl. past perfective indicative mediopassive of V" (in traditional terms "2 pl. aorist indicative passive of V"). Neither the more detailed definitions nor the traditional names necessarily indicate the full range of functions that the forms in a given paradigm may fulfil. Details are given below.

Among the grammatical categories of verbs, aspect alone is marked by stem-variation, sometimes by suppletion. Other morphological variation marking different combinations of grammatical values in verb forms is located in the inflectional endings added to the aspect stems. The prefixed augment, partly co-marking reference to the past in indicatives alongside specific sets of endings, is an exception. For full details see the relevant chapters of Part III, *Verb Morphology*.

For the sake of convenience and familiarity, the traditional term "tense" will continue to be used below to identify particular paradigms (e.g. the "present indicative" etc.), but it should be remembered that the "tenses" so defined are merely the names of sets of forms sharing the same values for the verbal categories of time reference, aspect, voice and mood.

4.1 Person and Number

(44) All finite verb forms are marked for one of the permissible combinations of person and number. These (pro)nomininal categories appear on verb forms as markers of agreement with a subject, which is regularly omitted if it is itself pronominal in content and unemphatic (cf. 1.1).

1 sg. νύμφην ... πέμπω σε τὴν περιπόθητόν μου

?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit. f.8v.15–16*

2 sg. καὶ τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἴμάτιν ... ἦ χάρισον ἦ πώλησον ἦ δόξ ὅπού
κελεύεις

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I 60–1*

3 sg. τὸ πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκεν

14th c., *Chron. Mor. H 7804*

1 pl. οὗτως σὲ τὴν ἔδωκαμεν

16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil. O 22*

2 pl. τὸν κύρην του ἐσκοτώσατε

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr. 1368*

3 pl. λέγουσι, δέσποτά μου, καὶ ἵκετικῶς ἀναφέρουσι πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητά σου
ὅτι γραφήν τῆς πανιερότητός σου εἴδασιν

1615, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 6, 174.6–8

4.2 Voice

Voice is a morphological category of all LMedG/EMG verb forms. Many verbs have either active or mediopassive forms, but those that have both sets are utilized in the realization of the active/passive alternation: only sentences containing active transitive verbs, prototypically with agentive subjects, have passive counterparts containing mediopassive forms. Thus neither sentences with active intransitive verbs nor those with transitive deponent verbs (i.e. having mediopassive inflection but active meanings) allow regular passivization, either because the key grammatical function (object) is absent, as in the second example below, or because the relevant morphology (mediopassive) is already deployed, as in the first:

ἔκεινο πού ἤπαν τὰ δενδρά οὐδὲ μᾶς τὸ ξηγήθην

16th c., *Alex. Rim. 2116*

τρέχουσιν εἰς τὴν κάμεραν

17th c./16th c., *MOREZINOS, Klini 51.1–2*

Passivization involves a reorganization of sentence structure whereby the noun phrase that was the direct object of the active verb, prototypically denoting the patient of the action, stands as the subject of the corresponding mediopassive verb. This in turn entails suppression of the active subject, though an agentive noun phrase may still be included optionally in a passive sentence within a prepositional phrase headed by ἀπό "by" (+ accusative). Active/passive sentence pairs are broadly synonymous in that the same situation is described in both, but different participants are foregrounded according to whether the agent or patient of the relevant scenario is represented by the subject noun phrase.

The functional range of LMedG/EMG mediopassive forms is broader than that of *be-passives* in English, and reflects some of the characteristics of the middle voice of AG. In the case of "washing", for example, an individual X may (a) *wash someone/something* (active, X = the agent), (b) *get (himself/herself) washed* (middle, X = both the agent and the patient/experiencer), or (c) *get/be washed by someone* (passive, X = the patient). Many verbs in LMedG/EMG have mediopassive paradigms with middle-type meanings alongside, and sometimes instead of, passive ones. In suitably supporting contexts plural mediopassive forms may also be given a reciprocal interpretation in which two or more participants are understood to be both the agents and the patients/experiencers of the action in question.

(45) Active transitive verbs normally have a corresponding mediopassive paradigm. Use of the mediopassive forms involves demotion of the active subject (which is either suppressed or included as an agentive adjunct marked by ἀπό) and promotion of the active direct object to subject status.

With a few verbs, especially δίνω/δίδω "give" and synonyms, the indirect object may also be promoted to subject position (see example below).

The interpretation of the mediopassive subject, as fulfilling the single role of patient (passive reading) or the dual roles of agent + patient/experiencer (middle reading), is partly lexically determined and partly a matter of contextual determination. In the case of middle readings no agentive adjunct may be added.

Passive Reading

- ἀπῆλθεν με εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐκρατήθη μήνας τέσσαρος
993, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 10, 124.13–14
- ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἐθίβετον, μυριοκαταφρονᾶτον
16th c./14th c., Velth. 38
- ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀναπνοῇ ... αἱ πρᾶξεις τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων λυγιάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται
16th c., Pist. kekoim. 567–8
- δοσα κανισκεύγουνται ... εἰς τὸν Θ(εό)ν, δὲν στρέφει ... τὴν ἀντίδοσιν τόσον εἰς
ἔκεινους ὅποι κανισκεύγουν ὡς γιὸν ἔκεινους ὅποι διδούνται
16th c., Pist. kekoim. 390–2
- τοῦ ἥδωκεν δ Θεός μίαν λέπραν ..., ἀπὸ τού ητονε νὰ σαπηθῇ ὅλη του ἡ σάρκα
17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, Klini 56.20–2
- ἐπληροφορήθημε ἀπὸ πιστὸν Χριστιανόν
17th c., PAPASYNAD., Chron. I §31.71–2
- ἐρχομένη καμία ύψηλοτάτην δικαιοσύνη, θέλομε κριθεῖν
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.14–15

Middle Reading

- σύντομα στηκωνόμεθαν
16th c./13th–14th c., Liv. α 3087
- καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἰσιάστηκεν μὲ τὸν σεβαστοκράτωρ
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7971
- ἐγέρθηκα κι ἐντύθη
16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, Ist. On. 124
- ἐπῆγεν ὁ Τζωρτζής καὶ εύρεθην μὲ τὸν σιρ Τουμάς
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 30.7–8
- ἡ ἀφεντία τῆς κυρᾶς ... γρικάται μὲ τὴν κυρὰν τὴν ρήγαιναν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 30.14–15
- ἐσυναπαντήθησαν μὲ τὸν σουλτάν Μπαγιαζίτη καὶ ἐνίκησε ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης
17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 31.1–2

4.3 Mood

The morphologically encoded moods of LMedG/EMG are the indicative, the subjunctive (only partly distinct from the indicative even in writing, and regularly marked with νά/άς) and the imperative. Together these comprise the full set of finite verb forms. Complete paradigms of finite forms typically involve combinations of monolectic items with periphrastic ones, e.g. monolectic imperfect and aorist indicatives are used to refer to the past, but past-referring pluperfects are periphrastic, as are forms used to refer to the future (see 1.2 and for details on periphrastic forms III, 5).

Form and function do not correspond in a transparent fashion. The indicative is normally used to make statements about the real world, the subjunctive to express modal notions of futurity/possibility or necessity/obligation, and the imperative to give orders to a second person (the subjunctive fulfilling the corresponding roles for other persons). But autonomous modal verbs such as deontic πρέπει “it is necessary” or epistemic μπορεῖ/ένδεχεται “is it possible/likely” have indicative forms despite being used to make modal statements. Similarly, infinitival periphrases with present indicative auxiliaries express futurity/

modality alongside νά-subjunctives, and infinitival periphrases with imperfect indicative auxiliaries describe hypothetical/counterfactual situations alongside bare imperfect indicatives or past-tense indicatives marked with modal νά. Furthermore, though the subjunctive carries an independent future/modal value when this contrasts with present- or past-time reference (e.g. in main, conditional or temporal clauses) or follows directly from the relevant function (e.g. in final clauses), in those subordinate clauses where it has replaced an infinitive (e.g. in grammaticalized future/modal auxiliaries (1.2.2), as a complement to other control verbs (2.2), or in temporal/causal adjuncts (3.4, Rule (36)), it expresses the lexical meaning of the relevant verb in a temporally and modally neutral way, with the relevant properties deriving instead from the lexical meaning of governing verbs (if any), which typically denote future aspirations and possibilities.

The issues are discussed in detail in Chapter 1, where the morphological and periphrastic forms associated with mood/modality are related to the making of statements (1.2), the issuing of commands and prohibitions (1.3), the asking of questions/issuing of exclamations (1.4), and the making of wishes (1.5).

4.4 Time Reference and Aspect

In LMedG/EMG time reference is a grammaticalized property of indicative verb forms (i.e. these are necessarily marked for it) when they are used in sentences that make statements or ask questions about the real world.

Locating events in time presupposes a temporal reference point, and in the default case this is taken to be the time of speaking/writing (“the present”): eventualities denoted by sentences may be located before this point (“in the past”), at this point (“in the present”), or after this point (“in the future”), as indicated by the choice of verbal morphology/verbal periphrasis. Though reference to the future is in principle treated on a par with reference to the past and present, the future cannot be a strictly factual domain and there is significant overlap in LMedG/EMG between forms that refer to the future and those that express various modal notions (see 1.2.2).

Sometimes an event may be marked as “past” relative to another event that itself took place in the past or future with respect to the time of speaking/writing: pluperfects and future perfects perform this role in many languages, though these are rather marginal tenses in LMedG/EMG (see below). A secondary form of temporal relativity is involved in finite subordinate clauses dependent on main clauses containing verbs with past-time reference, cf. *he said that she would do X* with the corresponding direct statement *she will do X*. Such “sequence of tense” phenomena are also relatively marginal in LMedG/EMG, where the tenses of the original statement, question etc. are usually preferred (see 2.1, Rule (22)).

Verbal aspect is also grammaticalized in LMedG/EMG, and in this case all verb forms are built either to a perfective or to an imperfective stem. In some periphrastic formations and non-finite forms, however, there is a clear tendency for one option to become dominant over time, with some consequential blurring of the usual aspectual contrast (see 1.2.2; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37)). There may also be some early indications of the loss of aspectual contrast in subjunctives in the Pontic region (see 4.4.5).

Unlike time reference, which is in principle an objective matter, choice of aspect reflects the speaker/writer's subjective "view" of a given eventuality without reference to its "actual" duration, whether in real/future time or in a possible/hypothetical world distinct from this one. Thus the same eventuality may be presented "perfectively" as a single complete whole with a beginning and an end (e.g. *the phone rang, will ring, may ring, would have rung*) or imperfectively as lacking one or both end-points, i.e. as continuing, progressing, habitual/repeated (e.g. *the phone was ringing, will be ringing, may be ringing, would have been ringing, used to ring*).

The choice of aspect is in principle free, though there are limitations deriving from the interaction of aspect with time reference (see below), and there are certain conventionalized preferences. In clauses of indefinite frequency (*whenever/each time X happened ...*), for example, the actions involved might be presented imperfectively (the sequence of recurring events is seen as open-ended) or perfectively (each individual action is seen as complete, leaving the open-endedness to be encoded in a co-occurring adverbial and/or a main-clause imperfective verb form). In LMedG/EMG there is a preference in these cases for perfective forms, while in MG imperfective forms have become the norm. In the following example the indefinitely repeated character of the action of the subordinate clause ("whenever I saw one") is made clear by the use of the imperfect in the main clause:

καὶ λάφιν δὲν μ' ἔγλυτωνεν, ... τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ, τὸ δόξευα

Om. Nekr. Vas. 46-7

The indicative "tenses" marked for both time reference and aspect are presented first. Forms unmarked for time reference (gerunds/participles and infinitives) or that carry inherent time reference (imperatives, future/modals and in part subjunctives and conditionals) are then considered in terms of their aspectual properties.

4.4.1 Present Indicative (Present Imperfective Indicative)

(46) Since the present moment is naturally conceived as progressing with the passage of time, the present indicative of lexically non-stative verbs in LMedG/EMG is built to the imperfective stem and used to describe activities that are viewed as ongoing/progressive at the present moment as it advances. Correspondingly, the present indicative of lexically stative verbs describes what is viewed as a state of the subject that continues to hold true as the present moment progresses; present states have a naturally characterizing quality for the period of their duration.

Progressive

ψεύδεται, φλυαρεῖ, μὴ τὸν πιστεύης!

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 133

τί θλιβεσσαι τοσούτως; οὐ ρεύμεις εἰς ἐριζικὸν κοίτεται ἡ στρατεία; κι ὅποιος ἔρευνει
μυχανίαν καὶ πράττει μὲ πονηρίαν τοὺς ὀντρειωμένους καταλυεῖ κ' ἐπαίρει τὴν
ἀντρίαν τοὺς

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4903-6

εἶναι ἀνάγκη πρὸ πάντων νὰ φροντίζετε τὴν παίδευσίν των καὶ τὰ ἥθη των, ... ἀν
θέλετε νὰ ἔχουν τιμήν ἐδῶ

1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.7-9

Stative

οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ συμφωνοῦν

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 316.14-15

σὲ ἀγαπῶ

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 546.28-9

ἡ εὐγενεία σου εἶναι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὥσπερ διοικητῆς τῶν πατέρων μετὰ τοῦ

Κριτοπούλου

1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.6

NOTES

- (i) In informal styles, and usually where the context makes things clear (e.g. where there is a future-referring conditional clause), the present indicative may also be used to refer to the future:

καὶ ἂν ἔχω ἔδω θανατωθῆν, τὴν κόρην οὐκ ἀφήνω 15th-16th c./13th-14th c., *Liv. a* 2960

δὲ γιαίνεις ποτὲ ἀπὸ ἀυτήν τὴν πληγή, καημένε, μὸς ποθαίνεις, ἀνὲν κὶ αὐτὰ τὰ
φαγητὰ δὲ φάγης νὰ χορτάσῃs 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz* III.89-91

- (ii) In the absence of a present perfective paradigm, formally imperfective present indicatives are used to comment on events taking place sequentially before the speaker's/hearer's eyes (e.g. *the emperor arrives, takes his seat and nods to his officials*). In LMedG/EMG, this type of "historic" present is chiefly apparent in narrative texts, where it converts an account of past events into just such an eyewitness commentary:

ώς ἔστεκα κ' ἐθώρουν τὸν, γυρίζει καὶ όμιλει μου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 27

παρευθὺς ἀπαντονάρισεν ὅλες τές πρόσκαιρες δόξες ... καὶ πορεύεται κρυφίως εἰς
τὴν ἔρημον 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ios.* 33.6-8

- (iii) Performative verbs (utterance of which in the 1st person present indicative constitutes a performance of the relevant action) are similarly perfective in force but necessarily imperfective in form:

ὅλα τὰ παραιτούμεθα

17th c., IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali* 4762

- (iv) In some of the earliest texts there are occasional examples of periphrases formed from the verb "to be" + the present mediopassive participle:

εὔκολον ἔχουν τὸ νόημα διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐκ εἴν γάρ οὔτε ἀπ' ἐμῆς
γνώσεως λαλούμενα 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 310.11-12

- (47) The present tense of the verb "to be" + the perfect mediopassive participle is widely used in LMedG/EMG to express a present state of the subject. In this construction the participle is in effect a predicative adjective and as such agrees with the subject in the usual way (1.1.2).

πολλὰ εἰσαι βαρεμένη

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 304

εἴμεθεν θλιψμένοι

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8419

εἶνε μισισμένος ἀπὸν ἐαυτῆς μας!

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 252.30

ἐγὼ εἰμαιν σκοτωμένος

16th c., DIOGENES ALEXANDRUS, *F* 264.3 (Lolos)

Much of the interpretation depends on the lexical character of individual verbs. Thus activities and states viewed perfectly are naturally interpreted as having ended (e.g. *X ran (a mile)*, *X ruled (till he died)*), processes with inherent culminations as having attained them (e.g. *X melted*, *X grew up*), achievements as punctual events (*X arrived (at 9.15)*), etc. But the perfective forms of stative verbs may also be used to denote what are viewed as momentary events initiating the relevant state (e.g. ἀγάπησε = "X fell in love", ἐβασίλευσε = "X became emperor").

ἀφότου ἀπεκατέστησεν μισθρὸν Ντζεφρές ἐκεῖνος τὰ πάντα δλα πράγματα ..., τόσα
τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν ... ὅτι βουλὴν ἀπήρασιν ..., τὸ πῶς νὰ τοῦ ἔμεινε ἡ ἀφεντία τοῦ
τόπου τοῦ Μορέως

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 2098–104

δ πάπτας δὲν τὸ θέλησεν, ἀμμὲ μηνύσεν του

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 26.12–13

τοῦτοι οἱ ἀθρόποι ... ἐκουρσεῦγαν καὶ ἐσκοτῶνναν, καὶ ἐποίκαν μεγάλα κακὰ εἰς τὸ
νησσίν

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 60.10–12

ἀφέντεψεν, ἀφ' ὃν ἐστέφθη ὁς που καὶ ἐπέθανεν, λθ' χρόνους καὶ δ' μῆνες καὶ κδ'
ἡμέρες, καὶ ἐπέθανεν ἡμέρα πέπτη τὴν ὑστερη μαρτίου, ατκδ' Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸν
Στρόβιλον

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 58, 60.36, 1–3

ἐσὺ μ' ἐντρόπιαζες τόσους χρόνους, κ' ἔγάμεις τῇ μάνα μου καὶ ποτέ μου δὲ σοῦ εἶπα
τίποτας κ' ἐσύ, γιὰ μία βολὰ ποὺ ἐγάμποσα τῇ γυναίκα σου, κάνεις ἔτσι;

16th c., Nov. I 156.14–16

ὁ μπάρμπας τοῦ παιδίου ὠνείδισε τὸν γέρον κ' εἶπε του " ... δ, τι ἀρχισε, ἐμένα ποτὲ
δὲ μοὺ τὸ ἐμολόγησε", κ' ἔτσι ἀγκαλιάστη κ' ἐφίησε τὸ παιδί του, κ' ἔμειναν
ἀγαπημένοι

16th c., Nov. I 156.19–22

ἔδέχθη τὸν λόγον ... καὶ ... ἔστειλεν ἔξοδες καὶ κάτεργα ὁ πάπτας, διατί εἶχεν πολλὴν
ἐπιθυμίαν νὰ γένη ἡ ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἔσοντας ὅπού πολλές φορὲς τὸ
ἔβουλήθησαν ..., καὶ δὲν ἐδυνήθησαν νὰ τὸ κατορθώσουν

17th c./16th c., Chron. Ps.-Doroth. (1631) 229.39–43

μᾶς ἀποδέχθηκε καὶ ἀγκαλιάσεν ὁ πριντζιπός μας, καὶ ἔτζι πάντα ἐδῶ ἐζήσαμεν εἰς
εἰρήνη, ὥστε ποὺ δ' ἔχθρος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ σπείρῃ το ζιζάνιο

1614, Tinos, HOFMANN 1936: 1, 58.6–9

NOTES

- (i) Use of the aorist indicative in conditional sentences is dealt with in 1.2.2, Rule (11) NOTE (i); 3.3.
- (ii) In the absence of a properly developed perfect indicative for much of the period covered by this Grammar (see below), the aorist may be used in contexts where a perfect meaning seems appropriate:

τὸν ἥλιον εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ χλιες φορὲς γροικώντας τὰ πάθη μου
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Panor. I.71–2
ἔγω δὲν εἶδα νὰ σταθῇ τὸν ἥλιο νὰ μ' ἀκούσῃ, μὰ εἶδα χαράκια καὶ δεντρά πολλά
ν' ἀνασπαστοῦσι, νὰ φεύγου γιὰ νὰ μὴ γροικοῦ τ' ἀναστενάματά μου

17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Panor. I.73–5

(iii) The aorist is also widely used where a pluperfect might have been employed, the notion of anteriority being inherent in the typically sequential nature of complete events; thus the event described in a subordinate clause is naturally taken to precede that described in a main clause if the latter also contains an aorist ("when X, then Y"):

ἀφότου ἐκατόρθωσεν ὅσα σᾶς ἀφηγοῦμαι ... τὸ πνεῦμα του ἐπαρέδωκεν κι
ἀπῆραν το οἱ ἀγγέλοι

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7801–4

ἀφότον ἐφάγαν καὶ ἐπαρδιαβάσαν, ἐκατέβησαν κάτω εἰς τὴν αὐλήν

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 44.9

ἐστόντα τάπισα καὶ ἐβγάλαν τον ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸν πύργον, δ βασιλιάς ἐποίκεν νὰ τὸν
μάθουσιν τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ

16th c./15th–16th c., Fior 150.14–16

4.4.4 Perfect, Pluperfect and Future Perfect Indicatives

The ancient monolectic perfect had fallen together functionally with the aorist long before the medieval period, and aorists (sometimes derived from earlier perfects, e.g. βρῆκα/ηὔρηκα) could always be used thereafter to imply the "present relevance" of a past event whenever the context supported or demanded such a reading. The monolectic pluperfect was not much used even in AG and it too withered away before the period of this Grammar, leaving the aorist as the default means of denoting events anterior to past events (see 4.4.3, Rule (50) NOTE (iii)). Since the future perfect barely existed in AG (most verbs do not have an attested paradigm), the only productive survivor of the ancient perfect system was the perfect passive participle, which could be used predicatively with different tenses of εἴμαι to express a state of the subject, or more rarely with different tenses of ἔχω as an object complement to express a state of the direct object (see Rule (47) and NOTES).

Other than in S. Italy (where Latin/Romance influence was always present), periphrastic forms with the authentic pluperfect force of temporal anteriority begin to appear only in the later medieval period, and it is hard not to see this development as driven in part by the advent of widespread bilingualism following the influx of Romance speakers into the Greek-speaking world after the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

One form of Romance-style pluperfect, attested from ca. 15th c. onwards and quickly associated with a corresponding perfect, was based on the ἔχω/εἴχα + perfect passive participle construction, the latter element sometimes retaining agreement with the direct object, but also inflected as an invariable neuter plural in the wake of the reinterpretation and grammaticalization of the forms, e.g. *I have/had a tree (that is/was) planted in the garden* > *I have/had planted a tree in the garden*, etc. Though in principle available only with transitive verbs, it was quickly extended to "unergative" intransitives (i.e. those denoting simple activities), using newly invented participles such as ἀποφασισμένος; in this case the neuter plural ending is standard, but this is also partially generalized to transitive verbs on Crete and some southern Aegean islands. A passive is formed using εἴμαι + perfect passive participle, and this combination is also used as a perfect/pluperfect active with deponent verbs and "unaccusative" intransitives (i.e. those denoting transitions to a result location, such as "come/go"), once again with innovative formations such as ἐλθωμένος etc. The resulting creation of a "be/have" auxiliary split is highly characteristic of Romance, and

throughout the period of this Grammar the participial construction remains most characteristic of southern regions that were long under Western rule (e.g. Heptanese, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus), with only limited spread to the mainland, and not to northern areas.

ἔβλεπεν ὁ ἄγγελος, ὡς ἦτον τεταγμένος

15th c., *Anak. Konst.* 112

τὸ διμισδόν ἔχομεν βαλμένον εἰς τὴν πρακτωσίαν 1506, Patmos, *MALTEZOU* 1970: 2, 367.172

μᾶς ἔχει δοσμένα καὶ πουλημένα ... ἀμπέλιν

1547, Crete, *ILIAKIS/CHRONAKI* 2002: 25, 65.3

εἶναι μισημένος ἀπού τῇ Ρώμῃ

1570, Venice, *CATALDI PALAU* 2003: 9, 482.3

εἴχαμε μιλημένα γιὰ τὸ γάμο

17th c./16th–17th c., *Vosk.* 400

The other main type of pluperfect starts to appear a little earlier and derives from the probably Romance-inspired reinterpretation of conditional periphrases in the protases of hypothetical/counterfactual conditionals as denoting anteriority vis-à-vis the apodosis (see 3.3 for details); e.g. a conditional with the literal meaning “if I would find the money, I would spend it” (the LMedG/EMG construction was originally atemporal) > “if I would have found the money ...” > “if I *had* found the money ...”, with the notion of anteriority then extended to real-time subordinate clauses (e.g. “when I had found the money ...”) and then to main clauses (e.g. “I had found the money (by the time the bill arrived)”). This type of pluperfect quickly becomes widespread and is ordinarily based on the *εἴχα*-periphrasis with perfective infinitive, though in southern areas there are also examples of the *ἠθελα*-periphrasis used as a pluperfect. The construction acquires a corresponding perfect very late, at the end of the 17th c.

εἴχαν τὸν κόψει κακά καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν

15th c./?13th c., *Assizes B* 267.11–12

ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ ... ὅπου τὸ εἴχεν χάσει

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 622–3

NOTES

- (i) In southern areas from around the 16th c. onwards, the conditional infinitival periphrasis with *ἠθελα* is also sometimes used as a pluperfect:

λέγοντες πῶς τὸ ἠθελαν χάσει πρώην

1575, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2008: 5, 58.5–6

- (ii) In Crete there is evidence (specifically from Kornaros) that conditional periphrases could also be used as habituals in generic subordinate clauses (cf. the dual use of English *would*); note the habitual imperfect in the corresponding main clause:

τὸ χα ευπνήσει, ἐφώνιαζα

18th c./16th–17th c., *KORNAROS, Erot.* I.995

It is unclear whether such examples should be translated “whenever/wherever/whoever someone would/used to X” or “... had X”.

- (iii) Particularly, if not exclusively, in regions where both types of pluperfect co-existed, the participial construction retains a more stative character, in line with its origins.

A further type of pluperfect is more sporadically attested, formed from the past tense of “to be” and the perfective gerund. This formation is characteristic of S. Italy, the

Peloponnese and adjacent islands such as Cythera, and may represent a local modernization of the corresponding ancient construction that used the aorist participle (which agreed with the subject in number, gender and case). It never gained ground geographically and declines with the general decline of the perfective gerund (3.4, Rule (37)).

ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ διπάντες οἱ πελεγρῖνοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὅπου ἦσαν ἐπάροντα τὸν σταυρόν

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 390–1

Even more restricted in its distribution is a variant using *εἴχα* + perfective or imperfective gerund, apparently without any clear aspectual contrast.

The future perfect is almost exclusively a non-literary tense and is often used in legal contexts for precision, once again most probably under the influence of corresponding Romance practice in which grammatical marking of the sequencing of events in both past and future time is routine. The majority of attested forms are futures of the *ἔχω* + perfect passive participle periphrasis, formed chiefly with (*ἐ*)*θέλω* (e.g. *θέλω ἔχει(v)* X *V-μένο/-μένη* etc.); conditional *ἠθελα* in the same construction is a very clear marker of the legalese register.

νά μαι κρατημένος νά τῆς δίδω ὅ, τι ροῦχα ... τῆς ἠθελα ἔχει καμωμένα

1538, Crete, *MAVRAMATIS* 2006: 211, 166.10–12

νά χάνη τὴν δούλευσή του ὅποι τὸ θέλει ἔχει δουλεμένη

1571, Kefalonia, *VAYONAKIS et al.* 2008: 1, 53. 10–11

The various auxiliaries used in these LMedG/EMG periphrases either lack perfective stems altogether (*εἴμαι*, *ἔχω*) or do not make use of them in this role (e.g. the aorist of (*ἐ*)*θέλω* is never used as an auxiliary). Any aspectual contrast must therefore derive from the element with which they combine, viz. the perfect passive participle, infinitive or gerund. But of these only infinitives and gerunds can in principle be marked for aspect, and even here the usual perfective/imperfective contrast applies only in part (see 1.2.2 for the conditional periphrases; 3.4, Rules (36) and (37) for infinitives and gerunds, on which cf. also immediately below). Since the various members of the perfect system, unlike all other indicatives, do not engage fully, or in some cases at all, with the otherwise universal perfective/imperfective opposition, it is unsurprising that they occupy a rather marginal position in the overall verbal paradigm of LMedG/EMG and play a similarly marginal role syntactically. The participial perfects, pluperfects and future perfects at least retain a distinctive role with their continuing (if partial) stative function, but the pluperfects formed with infinitives and gerunds are almost exclusively perfective in form and function principally as temporally more pedantic variants of the aorist (indicative or future/subjunctive according to whether time reference is to the past or the future).

For further examples and more detailed discussion of the formations discussed above see III, 5.

4.4.5 Future/Conditionals, Subjunctives and Imperatives

Aspect in infinitival conditional periphrases is discussed above in connection with the reinterpretation of certain forms as pluperfects; aspect in both future and conditional periphrases in their original functions is dealt with fully in 1.2.2. The role of aspect in imperatives is discussed in 1.3, and in subjunctives in their various functions in 1.2.2, 1.3, 1.5,

2.2, and 2.3; and Chapter 3 *passim*. In all cases apart from the infinitival future and conditional periphrases and pluperfects deriving from the latter, the perfective/imperfective opposition is fully operational, with relevant forms built to both stems.

Future time reference is an inherent property of imperatives, and in part of future/modal and conditional forms – but not when these are being used in a purely modal way to denote possible/hypothetical situations outside the temporal structure of the “real world”, or in lieu of infinitives to denote actions conceived without reference to time. Thus conditionals are normally modal but are also used, albeit rarely, as “real” futures-in-the-past, i.e. to denote events in the future relative to a past-time reference point:

ἔβλεπεν εἰς δινέρστα ὅπου ἔμελλε νὰ γίνονται

16th c., *Vios Iosif* 270.2-3

ἔθάρρου πώς εἰχασιν οἱ ἔγνοιες μου νὰ πάψου

17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSIS, Erof.* IV 160-1

Similarly, subjunctives complementing control predicates (2.2) are not themselves future-referring, but they are also used to refer to the “real” future in main clauses (1.2.2, Rule (7)) and some subordinate clauses (3.4), as well as to give commands (1.3, Rule (13)).

NOTES

- (i) There are some possible examples in documents from the Pontic region of the generalized (and so aspectually neutral) use of imperfective subjunctives; this usage later became the norm in that area, though perfective forms are still very much in use in the period of this Grammar:

ἔὰν ἔρκεστιν, ἔλατε μὲ τοῦ Κορέλλι τὸν ἀποκριχιάρη, καὶ κανεὶς μὴ σᾶς γνώσῃ, καὶ ἔλατε νὰ σᾶς συντύχω ἀπὸ στομάτου μου

1481, Crimea, GRASSO 1880: 119, 168-9.5-7

4.4.6 Gerunds and Participles

(51) **Gerunds are active in form (even from deponent verbs) and are built to either the imperfective or perfective stem; the former usually marks eventualities overlapping with the action described by the main verb, the latter eventualities preceding it, in accordance with their aspectual properties (i.e. in the default case an eventuality viewed as ongoing is taken to be contemporaneous with the main-clause event, one viewed as complete as preceding it).**

Perfective forms are in decline in LMedG/EMG and the forms attested increasingly come from a small number of verbs with strong aorist stems whose ending -οντας coincides with the productive imperfective ending; weak aorist -σοντας is hard to find beyond the clichéd περάσοντας with temporal subject. Imperfective forms are then used with perfective as well as imperfective force.

For other aspects of gerundial syntax see 3.4.4.2, Rule (37).

Imperfective Force (imperfective forms)

ὅ καστελλάνος παρευτύς, οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, εἴπεν καὶ ὑποσχήθη του νὰ τὸν δεχτῇ εἰς τὸ κάστρον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237-8

σιμώνοντας ἡ ὥρα νὰ γεννηθῇ ο Χριστός, ἤλθεν ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανούς μέγα φῶς
16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.7-8

φοίνοντάς τους δίκαιαν καὶ τιμημένη ... ἡ αὔτη σούπλικα
1561, *Zakynthos, KONOMOS* 1969a: 1, 35.7-9
πᾶσα γνωστικός ἄνθρωπος, δὲ κατέχοντας πότες ἔχει νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ αὐτὸς δ θάνατος,
πρέπει καὶ τυχαίνει νὰ δρδινιαστῇ

1598, *Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 14, 35.5-6
ἔρχοντάς μου εἰς τὸ Χτῆμαν ἤρτεν δ Χακη-Αύγουστης

1619, *Cyprus, PERDIKIS* 1998: 1, 3.10
κάθοντά σου εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, γελᾶς ἡ συντυχαίνεις;
17th c., *Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU* 1983: A, 406.389

Perfective Force (both perfective and imperfective forms)

διαβόντα γάρ μικρός καιρός ἀπέθισε ή κουντέσσα
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8001

διαβαίνοντα δλλίγες ήμέρες, ἐστηκωθήσαν ἀπὲ τὸ σπιτάλλιν φρέρηδες
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 4.3-4

γρικῶντα ἡ μάνα του, δρδινίασεν τὸ φᾶν του εἰς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπήν
16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 46.15-16

τὴν ἔτερην ... νὰ τὴν μοιράζουν ... ὁ υἱός του ... μὲ τὸν ἄγκονά του ...,
ἀποτυχόντας (σ)του τοῦ προειρημένου κυρ Ἀλίσαντρου

1579, *Kefalonia, ZAPANDI* 2001a: 5, 23.14-16
ἀποθανόντας τοῦ καλογέρου, ν' ἀπομένῃ τὸ λεγόμενο ἀμπέλι στὰ παιδιά τοῦ
ἄνωθεν Λιγνοῦ

1600, *Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 92, 108.10-11
περάσοντας δλίγος καιρός, ἐμάζωξε τὰ φουσσάτα του

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 34.11
ἰδόντας ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης ὅτι νικᾶται ὑπὸ του ἐκθροῦ του ..., ἐσκιάκτη μήπως καὶ ἔλθῃ
δ Σακοῦκος δ Περσιάνος

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 39.23-5
ἐκεῖνος ... δὲν ἡμπορεῖ νὰ μάθῃ τὴν φύσιν ἐκεινῶν ὅπου δὲν εἶναι· καὶ δὲν μαθάνοντάς
τα, δὲν ἡμπορεῖ νὰ τὰ ιδῇ καλά

17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 34. 32-5
(52) Perfect passive participles are used in periphrases with εἰμα/ἔχω throughout the medieval period with stative force: no perfective/imperfective contrast can be expressed.

In the period from ca. 15th c. onwards this construction is increasingly grammaticalized in southern areas as a true perfect/pluperfect, albeit with the stative function partly retained (see above on perfect, pluperfect and future perfect indicatives for relevant examples).

(53) All other inflected participles, active and mediopassive, are marked systematically for the perfective/imperfective opposition; but these forms are residual in LMedG/EMG and employed primarily as “higher” stylistic variants of the gerund or in clichéd phrases.

Participles may have overt subjects or empty subject positions referentially controlled by the subject of the main verb. Overt subjects may be either nominative (the norm) or genitive

(in deference to the ancient genitive absolute construction), but with no requirement that the subject–participle combination should be a true absolute construction with its subject referentially independent of all noun phrases in the main clause.

Critic pronouns in subject function are standardly inflected in the genitive in the absence of weak nominative pronouns that could be used in this position.

In all but the most classicizing styles, the syntax of participles reflects that of gerunds in that participial subjects must be either referentially autonomous or subject-orientated (i.e. if it is to be coreferential with a main-clause constituent, this can only be the subject).

See 3.4.4.2, Rule (37) for examples.

4.4.7 Infinitives

(54) Active and mediopassive infinitives are marked for aspect, but in several infinitival constructions one aspect stem is favoured over the other (sometimes exclusively so) with a corresponding loss in the formal expression of aspectual contrast.

In LMedG/EMG infinitives are used regularly only in:

- grammaticalized future/conditional and pluperfect periphrases (1.2.2, and cf. above on pluperfects)
- the VPs of subordinate clauses as a variant form of complement to control, modal and aspectual verbs (2.2)
- one form of indirect question (2.4, Rule (31) NOTE (ii))
- as nominalized sentence adjuncts with a temporal/causal function similar to that of gerunds (3.4, Rule (36); 3.8)

Loss of aspectual contrast applies in particular to:

- the grammaticalized periphrases (see 1.2.2 for futures/conditionals; infinitives in pluperfects are almost always perfective, cf. above)
- the complements to aspectual verbs (imperfective only)
- the nominalized adverbials corresponding to temporal/causal clauses (perfective only)

In all these surviving infinitival constructions the subject position is referentially controlled by the main-verb subject.

Other than in styles admitting high levels of learned/classicizing influence, infinitival constructions that allowed overt (accusative) subjects in AG are no longer employed.

Infinitives may no longer be negated in their own right and only the governing verb can have a negative particle.

Complement to Control Verbs

εἴτις δὲ βουληθῇ κατελῦσαι τὸ παρὸν γράμμαν, νὰ ἔνι ἀσυγχώρητος

14th–15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.14–15

4 Verbs and Verb Phrases

Complement to Modal/Aspectual Verbs

ἐκίνησαν τὰ σάλια μου, Χριστέ, νὰ τὴν ἐπιάσα, ... νὰ ἡρξάμην ρουκανίζειν

14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 219–21

λέγει καὶ διερμηνεύει τὸ πῶς δ λίζιος ἄνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7570–1

In Indirect Questions

τὸ τί ποιήσει οὐκ εἰχασιν

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4084

Adverbial (temporal/causal)

τὸ ιδεῖ τον δ μιστρό Ντζεφρές, γλυκέα τὸν ἀποδέχτη

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8231

For further examples see the various sections noted above.

5 Nouns and Noun Phrases

A Noun Phrase (NP) in LMedG/EMG consists of a “head” noun or pronoun in construction with any complements it may require (see 5.2) and/or any optional adjuncts (see 5.1.4, Rule (69), and 5.3). NPs are the constituents of sentences used to refer to extralinguistic entities, and therefore nouns/pronouns are normally the heads of NPs even when they appear alone without complementation or modification.

Nominal expressions are characterized by values for the categories of *person* (1, 2, 3), *number* (singular, plural), *gender* (masculine, feminine, neuter) and *case* (nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive; and residually, dative). Head nouns/pronouns share the values assigned to these categories with the NPs containing them, and any adjuncts that are capable of bearing the appropriate morphological marking (articles, demonstratives, quantifiers, adjectives) agree with the heads they modify in number, gender and case; there is no formal marking of agreement in person. Complements, however, do not agree and are assigned specific grammatical markers by their heads as detailed in 5.2.

Person is a deictic category, i.e. one involving reference to extralinguistic entities. Its values are determined from the viewpoint of the speaker/writer as the 1st person, making the audience/reader the 2nd person(s) and any other participants in the discourse the 3rd person(s). Pronouns may be 1st, 2nd or 3rd person, but nouns are 3rd person unless the NPs containing them appear in apposition to 1st- or 2nd-person pronouns, and vocatives are inherently linked to 2nd-person pronouns, whether overt or covert; honorific circumlocutions such as ή εὐγενέα σου/σας etc. are also often treated as 2nd person.

NPs referring to countable objects are headed by count nouns, and their number is determined by whether the objects in question are “one” (singular) or “more than one” (plural); singular is the default number for NPs headed by non-count nouns, e.g. a mass noun like ἄρμος or an abstract noun like δικαιοσύνη. There is no compelling evidence for the use of the 2nd person plural to address individuals as a mark of politeness, for which circumlocutions of the type “your excellency” are regularly used instead (see above); note that the use of a plural possessive pronoun with a singular head noun in such cases typically involves more than one addressee, as δῶλοι ἀντάμα in the example below makes clear:

ἡ εὐγενέα σας δῶλοι ἀντάμα θέλετε ἀποκαταστήσει τίς νὰ ἀπομείνῃ

1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.22-3

The occasional anaphoric use of 3 sg. pronouns in connection with these circumlocutions is partly a matter of the flexibility of the grammar of anaphora, but may also reflect contemporary Romance practice:

ἡ παροῦσα μου ταπεινὴ δὲν εἶναι διὰ δόλην αἰτίαν πάρεξ νὰ τῆς ἀναγγείλω
(= τῆς μακαριότητάς σου)

1658, Cyprus, TSIRPANLIS 1973: 106, 160.5-7

Monarchs *vel sim.* may employ the 1st person plural of themselves:

ἔμεῖς ... ρήγας τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ... λαλοῦμεν δόσσοι μᾶς γροικοῦσιν τῆς αὐτῆς γραφῆς

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 54.23-5

First- and second-person pronouns have no inherent/grammatical gender. Those denoting humans are standardly treated as masculine or feminine according to the biological sex of the individual(s) involved; 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns may also be treated as neuter when the relevant individuals would be denoted in the 3rd person by a neuter NP, e.g. 1st-person ἐμεῖς when used by anthropomorphic ζῷα in an allegory etc. Unlike 1st- and 2nd-person pronouns, 3rd-person pronouns have distinct masculine, feminine and neuter forms. The gender of those with *deictic* function is also closely associated with biological sex, i.e. masculine or feminine for humans, neuter for everything else. By contrast, the gender of *anaphoric* 3rd-person pronouns normally follows that of their antecedents, e.g. neuter plural αὐτά/τα referring back to neuter plural τὰ κορίτσια etc. In the event of gender conflict (e.g. in coordinated expressions), masculine is the default choice for pronouns referring back to mixed-gender NPs denoting humans, provided that at least one is male:

νέους καὶ νές ἀνύπανδρους, γιατὶ νὰ τούς ἔπειρης; 16th c., GLYKYS, Penth. Than. 89

Neuter is selected for those referring to mixed-gender NPs denoting non-humans/inanimates:

ὁ θυμός καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία, διατί αὐτάνα ἐγενήκασιν ἀπὸ τὸν δημιουργὸν ... σύντροφοι τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως

17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ios. 34.6-7

By contrast, grammatical gender is an inherent property of nouns. There are partial correlations between particular genders and particular declensional classes/subclasses, and nouns denoting male or female human beings are often assigned masculine or feminine gender accordingly (see Part II for details), but the grammatical gender of common nouns is for the most part semantically arbitrary.

The case of a NP is determined by the grammatical and/or semantic function it carries within a sentence (see 5.1 for details).

5.1 Uses of the Cases

5.1.1 Nominative

(55) The nominative is the case of the subjects of finite verb forms (whether overt or omitted), and of the nominal/adjectival complements of copular verbs, which agree with their associated subjects in (number and) case: see also 1.1.

δόύνεις τὴν καρδίαν μου κατέτρωναν μερίμνων ?12th c. or 13th-14th c., Eisit. f.8r.3-4

ἐστράφησαν εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν τινὲς πλεῖστοι κλεροῦδες 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 514
σκοτεινάζει με τὸ σπίτιν τοῦ γειτόνου 16th c., Pist. kekoim. 593

With Subject Complements

αὐτὲς ἔνι οἱ ὑπόληψεις τῶν πρωτινῶν ἀνθρώπων 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., Than. Rod. 606

ἀπού ἀγαπᾶ τὴν ψεματινὴν δόξαν, [3_{sg.} Ø] ἐνι φουμιστής τοὺς παιγνιδοφουμιστάδες
16th c./15th–16th c., *Fior* 131.14–15

ἄν [2_{sg.} Ø] εἶσαι Χρυσταλλένη, μηδὲν εἶναι ἡ καρδιά σου διαμαντένη
16th c./15th–16th c., *Cypr. Canz.* 92.12–13

(56) The nominative is the case of the omitted subjects of infinitives and gerunds/participles that are controlled by the subject of the main verb (as confirmed by nominative subject complements); see also 2.2, Rules (25) and (29), 3.4, Rules (36) and (37), Chapter 4, Rules (51)–(54).

Infinitive

πῶς ... νὰ [3_{sg.} Ø] καταδέξεται [[3_{sg.} Ø] γενεῖ εἰς αὐτοὺς καπετάνος;]
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 233–6

ἔκεινοι ἐκατέλαβαν, [3_{pl.} Ø] τὸ λάβει τὰ πιπτάκια
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7855

Gerund

ὅ καστελλάνος παρευτύς, [3_{sg.} Ø] οὐ μὴ σκοπῶντα δόλον, ... ὑποσχήθη του νὰ τὸν
δεχτῆ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8237–8

(57) The nominative is the default case of the *overt* subjects of nominalized infinitives with adverbial function and of gerunds/participles in absolute constructions.

But weak pronominal subjects are genitive in the absence of nominative clitics, and there is some wider use of genitive subjects in higher registers; see also 3.4, Rules (36) and (37); Chapter 4, Rules (51)–(54).

Infinitive

τὸ ἀκούσει ὁ Ροῦσος ντὲ Σουλῆ ..., εὐθέως ἐσυγκατέβηκεν κ' ισιδοτησαν εἰς τοῦτο
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7927–8

Gerund

καὶ γροικῶντα κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ τοῦ ρηγός, εἴπαν τὸ πρᾶγμαν τοῦ ρηγός
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 42.33–4

Genitive Subjects

καθεζομένης τῆς Ἀφεντίας, ὑπῆγε καὶ ἐπροσκύνησεν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ γράμμα τοῦ
μπάλου τοῦ Γαλατᾶ ἔδειξεν
16th c., *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* (1572) 15–17

ἐρχοντάς μου εἰς τὸ Χτήμαν ἥρτεν ὁ Χακη-Αύγουστης
1619, Cyprus, *PERDIKIS* 1998: 1, 3.10

NOTE

(i) The nominative is also not infrequently used as a default case for loosely connected topics that are linked referentially rather than syntactically (i.e. by case agreement) to elements in the following clause:

οἱ Φράγκοι γάρ ἐκ τὴν στερεάν ἥτον δὲ πόλεμός τους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 546

ἡ παρθένος Μαρία τε Λουζούνια ..., ἐρμάσαν την
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 58.32–3

5.1.2 Vocative

(58) The vocative is the case of NPs used to address people or things.

Vocative NPs may be used alone to attract the addressee's attention or more usually may appear as adjuncts to sentences whose content the speaker/writer wishes to draw to the addressee's attention.

ψυχή μου κακοτύχερε, μίαν ἔχάρης ὅραν καὶ λύπη διεδέξατο ἀπαυστος τὴν χαράν
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 196–7

κερά, κερά μαγκίπισσα, τὸ πῶς ἀκούεις οὐκ οἶδα
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 172

πρίγκιπα, ἐσύ θεωρεῖς κ' ἐβλέπεις τὸ ἀτός σου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4222

ὦ βραχιόνοι σιδηροί καὶ στήθη μαρμαρέινα, καὶ ποια γῆ σᾶς ἔκρυψεν καὶ
15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3392–3

ἔκατεκάλυψε σας;
γιὰ μίλειε, γάδιαρε, ὅμορφα γὴ ἔρχομαι νὰ σοῦ βγάλω τὰ γένια σου!
17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSISS, Katz.* III.461–2

NOTE

(i) The nominative is sometimes used in place of the vocative, usually with the definite article and/or in apposition to a preceding vocative, implying an equative meaning ("you/X, (who are) the Y"):

τί 'ναι ἔκεινα, ὅ θεῖος μου ...;
15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 759

ἔξεβης, ἥ κυρ' ἀλωπού, νὰ μᾶς φιλοσοφήσεις;
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 204

ἄ, πῶς λαλεῖς, ἥ μάννα μου;
16th c./14th c., *[ANDR. PALAIOL.] Kallim.* 1077

λέγει την ὁ Ἀγγελος τὸ «Χαῖρε, ἥ Μαρία»
15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 29

Κύριε, Κύριε, ὁ Θεός μου, ἐσύ με ἐπροεῖπες ὅτι μετ' ἐμένα εἶσαι
16th c., *DAM. STOUD., This., Logos* 17, o7v.24 (1561)

ῷ ψυχή μου, σινιόρα Δουλτσινέα, τὸ ἄνθος τῆς εὔμορφίας, βοήθησε αὐτὸν τὸν
καβαλιέρην σου
18th c., *Don Kis.* 52.21–2

5.1.3 Accusative

5.1.3.1 Complements of Verbs

Accusative of the Direct Object

(59) In the default case, transitive verbs mark their direct object NPs (and in relevant cases nominal/adjectival direct object complements) in the accusative case.

καὶ καθαιροῦσιν τὸν παπᾶν!
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 271

παρακούω τοὺς λόγους του καὶ οὐ ποιῶ τὸ θέλημάν του
13th–14th c./?12th c., *Spaneas P* 280

ἔγω ύμᾶς ἐνθυμοῦμαι ..., πλέον δὲ πάντων σέ, τὸν ἐμὸν ποθητὸν καὶ ἀγαπητόν μου
14th c., Cyprus, *KODER et al.* 2001: 245, 426.35–6

ἀνάπταψεν τὰ ὅλογα	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 1749
θέλομεν διηγήσασθαι τὸν ἔρωτα τὸν μέγαν	15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., <i>Achil.</i> N 752
ἐσύ μ' ἐντρόπιαζες ... κ' ἔγάμειες τὴν μάνα μου καὶ ... δὲ σοῦ εἶπα τίποτας, κ' ἐσύ, γιὰ μία βολὰ ποὺ ἔγάμησα τὴν γυναίκα σου, κάνεις ἔτσι;	16th c., <i>Nov. I</i> 156.14–16
τὴν Ῥώμην ἡπτήραμεν καὶ τές θαλάσσες, τὰ νησία ὅλα	16th c., <i>Diig. Alex.</i> F 244.9 (Lolos)
παρακαλεῖ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην νὰ τές συμπαθήσῃ	1672, Paxoi, PETROPOULOS 1958: 13, 10.3
With Direct Object Complements	
καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἀδελφὴν τῆς κόρης νὰ τοῦ δώσω, νὰ τοῦ τὴν δώσω σύλυγον, σύγαμβρον νὰ τὸν ἔχω	16th c./13th–14th c., <i>Liv. a</i> 4543–4 app. crit. (N)
οὐκ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν μέγαν μάστορν	17th c./16th c., <i>Ekth. Chron.</i> 71.25
NOTES	
(i) A double accusative construction is characteristic of verbs meaning “teach (someone something)”, “inform (someone [of] something)”. This option is also attested with verbs meaning “dress X (in)”, “exchange X (for)”, “spend X (on)”, “fill X (with)”, “free X (from)”; in these cases, however, the second accusative may be replaced, especially in EMG texts, by an indirect object (formally distinguishable only when the genitive is used, see Rules (60) and (66)) or a prepositional phrase, according to the individual preferences of the verb in question.	
πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ... ὅπού διδάξῃ γράμματα ποτέ του τὸ παιδίν του	13th c./12th c., <i>Glykas, Stichoi</i> 208–9
παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ... μόνη ἔκεινη ... νὰ σὲ ἀλλάξῃ ὁ ωμαϊκόν, δεσποινικὸν ἱμάτιν	?12th c. or 13th–14th c., <i>Eisit.</i> f.3r.11–16
τί ἀντίστηκον καλὸν νὰ σὲ τὸ ἀντιμέψω;	15th c./13th–14th c., <i>Liv. E</i> 3760
ἐπληροφόρεσέ τον τὸν θάνατον τοῦ πρίγκιπος καὶ τὴν κατάστασίν του	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 7825–6
δένδρη μεγάλα κ' ἐρπετὰ κι ἄλλα θηριά τῆς φύσης, ... ἐγέμισεν ἡ κτίσις	15th c., <i>CHOUNNOS, Kosmog.</i> 21–2
γέροντα Σαρακηνὸν γράμματα μὴ μανθάνῃς	16th c./?, <i>Paroim.</i> H 51
ἄν ἡτον ἀργυρόκουπα ὁ οὐρανὸς ..., νὰ μὲ τὸν ἐγεμίζασιν ἄσπρο κρασὶν ἀκράτον	16th c./15th c., <i>Krasop.</i> AO 93
κόκκινα δὲν σὲ ντύννω, βιβλιόν μου	16th c./15th–16th c., <i>Cypr. Canz.</i> 2.17
δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ... ἔντυσεν τούς Πέρσας δλους φορεσίαν ὡσάν οἱ Μακεδόνες ἔβαστούσαν, καὶ τούς Μακεδόνας δλους ἐφόρεσεν Περσικὴν φορεσίαν	16th c., <i>Diig. Alex.</i> F 308.18–20 (Lolos)
τὰ ἄσπρα ποὺ εἶναι ἔδῶ, θαρρῶ ... νὰ τὰ ψωνίσω κερί	1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 14, 216.8–9

With Intransitive and Passive Verbs (principal object of transitive verb > subject)	
καὶ λυτρωθοῦμεν τὸν γοργόν, νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπῃ	14th c./12th c., <i>Ptoch.</i> IV 528
τότε νὰ ἐλευθερωθῆσι τὴν λύπην καὶ τοὺς πόνους	15th c., <i>Peri xen.</i> 324
ὅργιας ἔγέμωσεν χολὴν καὶ λαλεῖ τους	16th c./15th c., <i>MACHAIRAS, Chron.</i> V 232.10
With (Passive) Adjectives with Related Meanings	
ἡτον ὁ κόσμος σκοτεινὸς καὶ τὰ νερά γεμάτος	15th c., <i>CHOUNNOS, Kosmog.</i> 11
μαξιλάρια δύο γιομάτα πτερό καινούργια	1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 14, 13.8–9
With Indirect Object (Genitive NP or PP) Substituted for Second Accusative	
οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς τοῦ ἐφόρεσαν τὸ μανδύον τὸ πατριαρχικὸν	16th c., <i>Chron. Ps.-Doroth.</i> (1572) 181
γέμισε τοῦτο τὸ φλασκὶ κρασὶ, altri dicono ἀπὸ κρασὶ	17th c., <i>GERMANO, Grammar</i> 104.9–10
νὰ τοῦ κάμη μόδο νὰ ἐλευθερωθῇ ἀπὸ τὴν σκλαβία	1668, Kefalonia, BALLAS 1999a: 1, 277.7
(ii) “Ἐχω combines with a number of bare accusative nouns with meanings in the range “need/desire/power” to form a kind of periphrastic verb that in turn may take (<i>inter alia</i>) a direct object NP in the accusative (± an object complement):	
ἐσέναν εἰχε-θέλημα ἀντρα τοῦ νὰ μὲ δώσῃ	15th c./13th–14th c., <i>Liv. E</i> 2237
εἴτι θέλεις κάμε με, ἔχεις- με -ἔσουσίαν	15th c./14th–15th c., <i>Achil.</i> L 752 transl. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)
διὰ τοῦτο ἔχομεν-χρέια πολλούς ὅπού νὰ μᾶς ἀιδάρουσι	17th c., <i>VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.</i> 30.1–2
Accusative of the Indirect Object	
(60) In northern areas, including Constantinople and much of Asia Minor, the indirect object (marked dative in AG) may be expressed by an accusative NP.	
Alternatively a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σὲ or πρός + accusative may be used. Such PPs appear in this function in all locations, especially in later periods, and are most usually substituted for NPs headed by other than 1st/2nd-person pronouns.	
Accusative indirect objects, especially pronominal ones, also appear sporadically in southern areas as an alternative to the usual genitive of the indirect object (for which see 5.1.4).	
Northern Areas + Texts of Uncertain Provenance	
κατονείδιζε καὶ εἰπέ τον ὅσα θέλεις	13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Spaneas</i> P 127
ποιον μαντάτον νὰ ὑπάγωμεν τὴν ταπεινὴν μας μάνα;	15th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. E</i> 93
ἐπώλησα ἐσὲν παπὰ Θεόδωρον τὸν ἔξαδελφὸν μου τὸ δοπίτιν εἰς Διανίαχαν	1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 17, 8.1–2
ἔδωκα ἐσὲν παπᾶ Θεόδωρον τὸν γαμβρόν μου τόπον τὸ Λεγνάκιν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλόγου καὶ τῶν κρικίων	1260, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 19, 8.1–2

χρεωστεῖ μὲ καὶ διπάνος χοινικὸν κριθάριν
1269, Pontos, OUSPENSKY/BÉNÉCHÉVITCH 1927: 52, 29.32
καὶ τὴν πρόσταξιν ἐκείνου ἀμφοτέρως διηγοῦνται τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς εἶπεν
15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 1.258–60
ἐκείνον δώσω τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 66
καὶ δός με ἀπὸ τὰ φουσάτα σου ἐκείνους τοὺς θέλω 15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 87
διἈχιλλεὺς ... γραφήν γράφει, δυντίγραμμα στέλνει αὐτούς δπίσω
16th c./14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 209–10
δῆφηκα τὸν πατέρα Τζουάνην κεχρί κιλά δώδεκα
15th c., Meteora, VEIS et al. 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10
εἰς ἄρχων ἔστειλε τὸν δοῦλον του, νὰ τὸν ἀγοράσῃ πουλιά γενεές τρεῖς
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 53, 44.1–2
τοῦτος δι Ἡρώδης ἡτον ἀλλόφυλος ... καὶ ὑποτάσσοτον τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Ρώμης
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 341.5–7

Southern Areas

εἶχεν γάρ ὁ κύριος Θεόδωρος, ἐκείνος ποῦ σὲ λέγω, σιούς τρεῖς καὶ ἔξαίρετους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3537–8
πρόσεξε ... τὰ ἔμποτα, τὸ πόσοι τὰ φυλάγουν, νὰ μὲ τὸ εἰπῆς ..., νὰ μὲ τὸ
διερμηνέψῃς, [καὶ μὴ τολμήσῃς νὰ τὸ εἰπῆς ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου]
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8214–17
τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποίκαστ, λόγον οὐδὲν τὸν λέγουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1357
[ἔφανίσθη μου κ' ἔτρεχα εἰς λιβάδιν ὥραιωμένον ...] ... κ' ἔφάνη με ὅκ' ἔδιωχνα με
θράσος ἔλαφίνα 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok. A* 5–9
λέγει με 16th c./15th c., [FALIEROS], *Erot. En.* 42
ὁ Χάρος εὐρηκέ με καὶ σφονδυλίαν μὲ ἔδωσεν καὶ εἰς μίαν ἐσκότωσέ με
16th c./15th c., ?Crete, *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 59–60
[ὅπού ... τοῦ πτωχοῦ δανείζει] ... ἐκείνον τὸν χαρίζει τὴν ἀμετρον γλυκύτητα
16th c./15th c., ?Crete, *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 111–13
δι ἐνδιάθετος νόμος, διν ἔδωκεν δι Θεός τὸν Ἄδαμ: δι ἐσύ μισεῖς, ἔτέρω μὴ ποιήσῃς
17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 407.409

Prepositional Phrases (attested in all areas)

τὸ κορμί μου διδω το σήμερα εἰς ἐσένα 15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* L 727
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐλέγαν οἱ συγγενεῖς τῆς κόρης 16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil.* O 618
καὶ ἱκετικῶς ἀναφέρουσι πρὸς τὴν πανιερότητά σου δι γραφήν τῆς πανιερότητός
σου εἰδασιν 1615, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 6, 174.6–7
ἀπὸ κεῖ ἔστειλε 'ς τὸν Ἱωάννην βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο ὅτι ...
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 25.11

NOTES

- (i) Verbs, including impersonal verbs, that in AG governed or allowed the inclusion of a dative NP denoting an affected/interested party (e.g. as experiencer, beneficiary, victim etc.) may similarly assign the accusative in LMedG/EMG; such accusatives are once again in competition with the genitive, largely on a north/south basis (cf. above).

Accusative for AG Dative

- ἄν οὐ πιασθῇ καὶ δαμασθῇ ..., ως ὅρνεον πετάζεται, δοκοῦν τὸν δλα ὁμάλιν
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 128–9
 κάν καὶ κινδυνος ..., κάν θάνατος ἐπώδυνος μὲ πρόκειται ἀπὸ τούτου, ...
 τολμήσειν θέλω ... τὰ τῆς τιμῆς σου πάντα ... κατὰ λεφτὸν νὰ γράψω
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., EISIT. f.5v.5–14
 ἔγω εἰμαι, λέγει, ἀδελφέ μή με τὸ ἀπιστήσος
14th c., Log. parig. L 108
 φαίνεται τὸν στὸ σπίτιν του εύρισκεται ἀπέσω
15th c., Peri xen. 34
 ἔπρεπέ τὸν νὰ ἕφρεσε μαντὶ καὶ καμηλαύχι
16th c., Kakop. 127
 διὰ ποία ἀφορμή μὲ τὰ κρατᾶς αὐτοῦ (καὶ δὲν θέλεις νὰ μοῦ στείλης τὸ πράγμα
 μου;) 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 13, 215.3–4
 ἐμισέψασι ... χάνοντας καὶ κάμποσα φλωρία, ποὺ τοὺς ἐφάγασι οἱ Λιδορικιώτες
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 42.8–13

Genitive for AG Dative

- κ' ἐκείνοι οὐδὲν τοῦ ἐποίκασιν τίποτε πονηρίαν
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5266
 δταν σὲ φθάσῃ αὐθέντης σου, ἀνάσκελα μοῦ πέφτεις καὶ τάχα μὲ τοὺς πόδας σου
 θέλεις νὰ βοηθᾶσαι
15th c./14th c., Poulol. 66–7
 τὶ μοῦ σεῖς τὸ μουστάκιν σου ἀπάνω τε καὶ κάτω;
15th c./14th c., Diig. tetr. 128
 καὶ ἔρχουνται τοῦ πρώτου φλουριά ια' αθ/γα, [διεύτερος τὸν ἔρχουνται φλουριά
 ιγ' εα/θγ, τὸν τρίτον ἔρχουνται φλουριά ιδ' βγ/γα]
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 61, 48.9–10
 χαιρέτα μου τὴν μητέραν μου
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 410.20
 κάλλιον ἔναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου νὰ κείτεται ἀπὸ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην, περὶ νὰ ἔχῃ τὰ
 βάρη τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
16th c., Diig. Alex. F 28.18–21 (Konstantinopoulos)
 αύτεῖνοι τοῦ συγχύζουσι τὸν λαόν
17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Iosas.* 39.19

- (ii) Verbs that in AG took genitive complements (e.g. ἀκούω, for the source of a sound), or dative complements other than indirect objects etc. (e.g. ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ), may also assign the accusative in LMedG/EMG. The accusative again competes with the genitive (both original and as a dative substitute), in part on the north/south basis already explained. But verbs whose meaning supported reinterpretation as "ordinary" transitives eventually come to take the accusative everywhere (e.g. βοηθῶ); in southern regions, however, those verbs that had substituted the genitive for an original dative

were assimilated to the transitive paradigm more slowly and the process continues into the modern era. Correspondingly, prepositions are increasingly used in all areas to support NPs that were clearly felt to be insufficiently object-like (e.g. ἀκούω κάτι *ἀπό κάπτοι(v)*).

Accusative for AG Dative (ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ, compounds with συν- etc.)

- τὰ δὲ τυπικὰ τῶν μεγάλων μοναστηρίων ... εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ συμφωνοῦν τοὺς θέλους κανόνας οὔτε ἄλλην θέλαιν γραφήν
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.14–16
- τοὺς Φράγκους ἐμαχόντησαν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1079
- βουλὴν ἔζητησεν αὐτῶν τοῦ νὰ τὸν συμβουλέψουν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μορέως
πῶς νὰ τὸν κυβερνήσῃ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7829–30
- βοήθα τὸν ξενούτζικον
15th c./?14th c., *Flor. L* 77
- μὲ ἐβοηθήσετε κ' ἡπῆρα τὸ γονικό μου
16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 70
- τώρα νὰ ίδω ποῖος ἀπὸ σᾶς μὲ θέλει ἀκολουθήσει
εἶχαμεν σκύλον καὶ ἐβοήθειν λύκον
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1037
16th c./?, *Paroim. H* 88

Genitive for AG Dative (southern areas, into the modern era)

- δὲν μοῦ ἐβοηθούσασι
16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 121.40–1
- ἀκλούθησέν του
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 566.32
- βοηθᾶς μου
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz. I*.334

Accusative for AG Genitive (with NPs typically denoting a part, source or objective)

- τὸν πόλεμον ἀρχάσαν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1413
- νὰ σὲ εἴπω καὶ ἄλλον, τὸ ἡκουσα τοὺς γέροντας καὶ τοὺς προπάτοράς μου
15th c./14th c., Diig. tetr. 689–90 app. crit. (CA)
- πολλὰ ἐπεθύμαν βασιλείαν, πολλὰ ἐπεθύμα δόξαν
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 2206
- τοῦτο παρακαλῶ καὶ δέομαι τὴν παναγιότητά σου, νὰ ἔχω συγχώρησιν
1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.17–18

AG Genitive Occasionally Retained (higher styles, traditional phraseology)

- ἐκεῖ ὅπου ἔδέοντον τοῦ Θεοῦ νὰ δώσῃ βροχήν, τοὺς ἐπεμψε χαλάζιν μεγάλον καὶ φοβερόν
17th c., *Chron. 1619* 1149–50
- καθὼς μοῦ ἀκούσετε
17th c., VAROUCHAS, *Logoi* 466.42–467.1

Prepositional Phrases for Bare Cases

- ἀπὸ σαλοῦ καὶ μεθυστοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀκουε
16th c./?, *Paroim. H* 7
- ὅσοι ἡσαν μαχεζόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
16th c./15th c., LIMEN., *Velis. (Λ)* 642 app. crit.
- οὔτε ἀπὸ μάθημα ἐμέτεχεν
17th c., RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 61.17
- ώσδεν λαϊκός νὰ συγκοινωνᾷ μὲ τοὺς κοσμικούς
17th c., RODINOS, *Vios Ign.* 105.29
- ἐσυνωμίλησα καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου πατρός

1707, Ioannina, VELoudis 1987: 13, 310, f.1r.4

5.1.3.2 Accusative Adjuncts

Accusative of Space/Extent (including measures)

(61) The accusative is used adverbially to mark NPs denoting the space in/throughout which something takes place, the size of a person or object, or a distance traversed; such accusatives may specify both verbs and adjectives.

μαθὸν καὶ ποῦ ἀργαβιάζεσαι, τὰ ὅῶ δὲν ἔχεις τόπον

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 246 app. crit. (P)

ἥτον (γυναικα), α δρυγίες ὑψηλὴ καὶ διακόσιες δρυγίες χοντρή

16th c., Diig. Alex. F 36.9 (Konstantinopoulos)

ἥσανε (δένδρα) ὑψηλὰ πῆχες ἑκατόν

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.19

εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ... εἶναι γράμματα γλυπτά τὸ γύρωθεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας

1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.1–2

Extended/Metaphorical Uses (including fixed expressions)

ἄλλον τόσον εἶναι μισισμένος ἀπού ξ αὐτῆς μας!

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 252.30

καὶ τὴν ἄλλην μερέαν ὅτι ... τοῦ εἶχε εἰπεῖ ὁ πασᾶς βιζιρῆς ὅτι νὰ μὴν πάγη νὰ πολεμήσῃ μὲ τὸν Ταμερλάνο

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 39.6–8

ὅμως, σὲ παρακαλῶ, ἀνασηκώσου κομμάτι

18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.6–7

NOTE

- (i) Locative NPs in the accusative case define extended areas rather than specific points in space (for which prepositional phrases headed by εἰς/σὲ + accusative are normally used).

Accusative of Time

(62) The accusative is similarly used to mark NPs denoting a period of time at/within/throughout which something takes place; the meaning may be distributive ("in/during each period X") when the context is generic, as often in legal documents.

ἀπῆρες ὑπνον δλιγόν, ἐκάμμυσες ώρίτσαν

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 166

ψυχὴ μου κακοτύχερε, μίαν ἔχάρης ώραν

13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 196

ἐκράτησεν ὁ γάμος τους τρεῖς μῆνας ἀκεραίους

15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 1083

μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, καρτερεῖ ὁ κριτής ἡμέρας 1'

ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 73.170

τὸ μεσόνυκτο ἐγίνετον ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βροντὴ καὶ ροπὴ

1326, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 41, 93.5–6

τὴν νύχτα ἐκείνη παρευτύς ἔσωσεν τὸ μαντάτο στὸν Καμπανέστην

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1539–40

εἰς τὴν Κλαρέντσαν ἔσωσεν τὸ ἔργα τοῦ μαῖον

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7848

τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἡμέρᾳ Σαββάτῳ, ἐπέθανε ἡ μακαρισμένη ἀρχόντισσα τοῦ σιρ

1391, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 2, 88.1–2

Τζορ Ταρτούζ

- δργήν νὰ ἔλθῃ ἀπάνω του ὅποι ποτὲ ἀγάπην θελήσῃ μὲ τὸν Πρίαμον νὰ ἔχῃ μίαν
ἡμέραν
- 16th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1468–9
- τοῦ Αύγούστου τὰ πεντάλιτρα τὸν Μάιον ἀναζητοῦνται
- 16th c./?, *Paroim. H* 19
- ἐβλέπαν τὸν ἀμπέξω μέρα νύκταν
- 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 56, 58.38, 4
- ἐκείνην τὴν εὐλογημένην νύκταν ὅποι ἐγεννήθη ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός ...
ἔμφανθησαν σημεῖα πολλὰ καὶ διάφορα
- 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 332.31–3
- τὴν σήμερον ἡμέραν εἰς τὸ πατριαρχεῖον ... εἶναι γράμματα γλυπτὰ τὸ γύρωθεν τῆς
ἐκκλησίας
- 1565–75, *Constantinople, FOERSTER* 1877: 7, 15.1–2
- ἡκουσαν τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρου καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ... μία καὶ δύο καὶ πολλάκις
βολές
- 1581, *Kefalonia, ZAPANDI* 2001a: 46, 43.2–4
- ἐπολέμησε την (Σουμάκια) καμπόσες ἡμέρες
- 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 31.3

Idiomatic Expression

- ἔτελεύτησεν καὶ αὐτὴν, σήμερον δέκα ἡμέρες
- 1684, *Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al.* 1982/83: 436, 659.15
- (“today ten days” = “ten days ago”, cf. MG εδώ καὶ δέκα μέρες)

Distributive (= “per”)

- τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἑκατὸν δουκάτα τὸν μῆνα, ἥγουν χίλια καὶ διακόσια τὸν χρόνον, νὰ
ἔξοδιάζωνται εἰς τινας ἄρχοντας καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
- 1465, *Rome, LAMBROS* 1930: 285.6–8
- νᾶχουν ὅμπλιγον τὰ παιδιά μου ... νὰ βάνουν νὰ μᾶς λέσι κάθε παιδί τὸν χρόνον
λειτουργείας πενήντα
- 1662, *Sifnos, MERTZIOS* 1958a: 1, 110.157

NOTE

- (i) Temporal accusatives define the period of time for which or within which something occurs; a specific point in time at which something occurs (i.e. a temporal location *conceived* as punctual – it may in fact be a particular day or month etc.) is marked either with the dative (a traditional AG use, see 5.1.5) or a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σε + accusative.

Accusative of Respect/Accusative of Specification

- (63) NPs that are used to delimit or further specify the denotation of nouns, verbs (normally intransitive or passive) and adjectives are often inflected in the accusative.

Such NPs identify a restricted domain of applicability for verbs and adjectives (e.g. “suffer in (*respect of*) the heart”, “bold in (*respect of*) appearance”), and normally specify the denotation of nouns by defining contents (e.g. “a cup of water”), specifying varieties (e.g. “an olive-tree root”) or identifying what is quantified (e.g. “an acre of wheat”). In older texts and in legal documents such NPs are also used with proper names and trades/crafts (e.g. “Alexander by name”, “a potter by trade”).

With Nouns

- ἀφίνω καὶ ἐπτά ιερεῖς ἀπὸ δύο ὑπερπύρων σιτάριν
- ca. 1270, *Athos, BOMPAIRE* 1964: 9A, 82.55

θέλω νὰ ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, μιστρ Γυλιάμο τὸ δύομα, τὸ ἐπικλην
ντὲ λὰ Ρότζε

[ἔδν αἱ τῆς σκιάς πῆχες θ' μὲ δίδουν ξύλου ὑψος πῆχας σ',] αἱ ζε' πῆχαι σκιά πόσον
ὑψος πύργου μᾶς θέλουν δώσει;

post 1427, Unknown, *HUNGER/VOGEL* 1963: 17, 22.3–4

ἀφηκα τὸν παπα Τζουάνην κεχρὶ κιλὰ δώδεκα

15th c., *Meteora, VEIS et al.* 1998: 225, 246, f.163v.10

ἀπὸ τὸ πλοῦτος τὸ πολὺ ... οὐδὲν ἐπῆρα μετ' ἐμὲν ..., εἰμὴ ἔξι πήχεις σάβανον κ'
ἐσαβανώσασί με

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 65–7

δός με κοῦπα γεράκι, διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἄρχου σου, μὲ τὸ ἴδιο σου τὸ χεράκι

16th c./15th c., *Synax. gyn.* 393–4

ἔτι μάρτυρας παρακαλεμένος μαῖστρο Άνδρεας Δρούσουλας, βουτηκλάρτης τὴν τέχνην

1515, *Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS* 2003: 43, 75.24–5

μιὰ ρίζαν ἔλατα καὶ συκὲς τρεῖς καὶ δύο ρίζες ἄπιδές

1597, *Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT* 1987: 9, 31.5–6

si servono anco dell’Accusativo in vece del Genitivo in questi modi di parlare: ἔναν
ποτήρι γερόν, un bicchier d’acqua, ἔναν κομμάτι κρέος, un pezzo di carne, δύο
λαγήνια κρασὶ, due brocche di vino, & simili

17th c., *GERMANO, Grammar* 53.25–9

ἐπροσήλωσεν εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς μονὴν εἴκοσι στρέμματα ἄμπελι

1634, *Serres region, ODORICO* 1998: 58, 156.10

ἄν δ μητροπολίτης ... σοῦ γυρεύσῃ νὰ δώσῃς παραπάνω ἀπὸ ταῖς δέκα δικῆδες τὸ
χαβιάρι, ... τίποτε παραπάνω νὰ μὴ δώσῃς

1706, *Constantinople, LEGRAND* 1903: 21, 59, 60.31–2, 1–2

With Verbs

ταύτας τὰς τρεῖς κολάσεις ἐνταῦθα τὰς κολάζομαι

14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 226–7

Ἄγαμέμνων τηνικαῦτα τὴν καρδίαν ἐπικράνθη

15th c./14th c., *ERMON., Ilias* 7.102–3

νὰ ἀποσκεπάζωνται τὸ κεφάλι τους

1465, *Rome, LAMBROS* 1930: 287.18

πόνουν τὸ κεφάλι

16th c., *ZINOS, Vatr.* 328

With Adjectives

ἴανουάριος ἥτον ἀπ' αὐτόν, νὰ στήκεται καὶ ἔκεινος ἀνθρωπος δλος κυνηγός, δλος
θαρσύς τὸ σχῆμα

15th c./13th–14th c., *Liv. α* 1179–80

τὴν Ἐπαρσιν ἀβάσταγος, ἀγέρωχος τὸ σχῆμα

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 27

τ' ὅλλα πάντα θαυμαστούς, [γενναῖοις εἰς ἀνδρείαν]

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 30

ὅποιον μαι δίχα σάρκωσιν, τὰ κόκκαλα γλυμένος

16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 30

NOTE

- (i) Use of the accusative of respect with verbs and adjectives is a residual feature of older/more literary texts and is widely replaced by prepositional phrases in later/more vernacular material.

Accusative of Exclamation

- (64) NPs used in exclamations directed towards an individual are regularly inflected in the accusative (with or without an introductory particle) throughout the period of this Grammar.

ποῦ νὰ εύρης ἄλλον Πρόδρομον τοιοῦτον, τὴν κεφαλήν σου:

15th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 39

τὸν Θεόν, καλὲ νεώτερε, ποῦ μένουν οἱ ἀπελάτες:

15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 640

δῶχω μας τοὺς ἔλενούς

15th c., ?Crete, KAKOULIDI 1958/59: 120

δγάῃ τὸν κεῖνον ποὺ εύρεθῇ νά 'ναι μ' αὐτῆν τὴν γνώμη

16th c., *GLYKYS, Penth. Than.* 311

ἀ τὸν ἀσεβῆ!

16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.33

NOTE

- (i) The accusative in greetings may be related, but the conventionalized ellipsis of a verb meaning "wish" provides an equally plausible explanation:

κύρ γάδαρέ μου, γειά σου, χίλια καλῶς ἐβρήκαμε ἐδῶ τὴν ἀφεντιά σου

16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 11-12

"Cognate Object" Constructions

- (65) Verbs may occasionally take accusative NP adjuncts with head nouns that are formally cognate.

These are not true objects (there are no corresponding passive sentences), and the fact that the NPs in question almost always contain adjectives shows that they largely replicate the role of manner adverbials (*hate a great hate = hate greatly* etc.).

ἐτζάκκισεν καὶ ἀντροπίσεν τὸν δρκον του ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην μισητείαν ἀπού μᾶς
μισᾶ

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 252.28-9

ἐκτύπησε ἔναν ἐκτύπον παράξενο καὶ ἡ πέτρα ἔδωσε εἰς τὸν τοῖχο καὶ ἔκαμε μίαν
τρούπα μεγάλην

?15th-16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 60.15-16

ἄρχισαν νὰ κλαίουν καὶ νὰ φωάζουν φωνές μεγάλες

16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 105.23

NOTES

- (i) Verbs may also take adverbial NP adjuncts headed by non-cognate nouns with closely related meanings; besides those containing the usual adjective there are also reduplicated expressions indicating intensification (e.g. κλότζον τὸν κλότζον in the first example below = "[with] kick after kick" etc.):

δ βούβαλος ... κλότζον τὸν κλότζον ἔκρουεν τὸν πάρδον μὲ τοὺς πόδας

15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 1028-9

ἔλεγεν φωνήν ἀγγελικήν καθαράν, δτι ἐγενήθηκεν ἀπὸ μίαν παρθένον ὁ Υἱός τοῦ Θεοῦ
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.1-2

- (ii) Ordinary transitive verbs may take direct objects that happen to be formally cognate, but these are obviously not "cognate object constructions" in any interesting sense:

τότε πάλιν ὁ ἀμιράς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον λέγει 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 18

ἔδερναν τὸν Χριστόν, καὶ παθαίνοντας τὰ πάθη ἔχαλότον δλίγον κατ' δλίγον
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 333.41-2

ἴντα κανίσκιν ἀσκημο μ' ἔχεις κανισκεμένη! 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof. V*.398

- (iii) As a means of intensification, intransitive verbs with the core meaning "have some experience" exhibit marginal transitive uses involving NPs headed by cognate nouns or nouns of closely related meaning:

τάρταρον τὸν τουρτουρισμόν, τὸν τουρτουρίζω τώρα 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 230

κάλλιον τὸ ἔχω, θάνατον σήμερον ν' ἀποθάνω περὶ νὰ εἰποῦσιν ἀλλαχοῦ νὰ μὲ
κατηγορήσουν 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1134-5

ἄν ἦτον καὶ νὰ μπόρει τὸν ὑπνον νὰ κοιμᾶτον, ἀλησμονήσειν ἤθελεν δλίγον ἐκ τὴν
λύπην 15th c., *Peri xen.* 23-4

5.1.4 Genitive

5.1.4.1 Complements of Verbs

Genitive of Indirect Object and Related Complements

- (66) In southern areas, including S. Italy and Sicily, the indirect objects of ditransitive verbs and the complements of many other verbs that were marked dative in AG may be expressed by means of a genitive NP.

Alternatively a prepositional phrase headed by εἰς/σὲ or πρός + accusative may be used. Such PPs appear in this function in all locations, especially in later periods, and are most usually substituted for NPs headed by other than 1st/2nd-person pronouns.

πέπρακα αὐτὸ τοῦ κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου διὰ νόμισμα ἐν 1076-7, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1963: 1, 46.8

νὰ μὲ τὸ διερμηνέψῃς (πῶς στήκει τὸ κάστρον), καὶ μὴ τολμήσῃς νὰ τὸ εἰπῆς
ἀνθρώπου γεννημένου 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 8216-17

ἔμήνυσεν τοῦ καστελλάνου νὰ ἔλθῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 8228

δὲν μοῦ φάνη κ' ἔζησα στὰ πλούτη μιὰν ἡμέραν 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 73

γυρεύουν δτι νὰ τούς δώσουν τὸν Σαμψών, ... καὶ οἱ Ἰσραηλίται ... φοβοῦνται καὶ
διδουν τὸν Σαμψών δεμένον τῶν ἔχθρῶν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 278.32-4

- ποτέ μου δὲ σοῦ εἶπα τίποτας 16th c., *Nov. I* 156.15
 ἀφει καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ νοταρίου διὰ τὸν κόπον μου ὑπέρπυρα εἰκοσιπέντε
 1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 165.42
 ἀφήνει τῆς Καντιῶς ὅ,τι μερτικὸ τοῦ ἔγγιζει στὸ χωράφι τῆς Κουκουβάγιας
 1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.22
 τὰ ὄσα ἔχω δοσμένα τῶν ἐπιτρόπων 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 109.115
 τὴ γραφὴ ... ἐλάβαμε ..., τὴν ὅποια ἐδιαβάσαμε τηνε, ὡς ἔπρεπε, τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ
δλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ 1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5
- With Prepositional Phrases (attested in all areas)
- ἀνταπεκρίνατο πρός με ὁ ὑποψήφιος [λέγων μοι δτι ...] ?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4-5
πρός ἐκεῖνον ἀποκρίθη 16th c./14th c., *Ptochol.* a 722
 π(εζάν)τ(ια) τ' δομένα στοὺς κάτ(ωθε) τόπο_ςς 1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULOS 1983: 48, 26.3
 ἐδώκασιν τὸν λεγόμενον Ἀντώνη εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ εὐγενοῦς φρα Γιλιάμου
 1491, Rhodes, TSIRPANLIS 1988: 1, 234.26
 ἀενάως στέλνων ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δωρεάς
 17th c./16th c., *Ekth. Chron.* 40.24-5
 ἔσεις ... ἀπονη βουλὴν ἐδώκετε σ' ἐμένα 18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.319

NOTE

- (i) For further examples of the genitive in southern areas, specifically to mark NPs denoting an interested party (e.g. experiencer, beneficiary, victim etc., all marked dative in AG) or the complements of verbs such as ἀκολουθῶ, βοηθῶ etc. (+ dative in AG), see Rule (60) NOTES (i) and (ii).

Genitive Governed by Adjectives

- (67) A small number of adjectives take genitive complements in early/more literary texts; only ἀξιος retains this construction with any regularity in later periods, where it remains a learned feature.

- πάντας ἀξιούς ἔκρινεν τοῦ στέφους καὶ τοῦ κράτους 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 38
 κοινὴν βουλὴν ὃς εἴπωμεν, ἀν ἔναι θελητὸν σου πῶς καὶ γενοῦμεν ἔγκρατεῖς τοῦ
κάστρου καὶ τῆς κόρης 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1032-3
 ἀν οἱ προσευχὲς ... ἐνεργοῦσιν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην, καὶ πόσον μᾶλλον μετὰ θάνατον,
 εἰς ἐκείνους ὅπου ἔναι ἄξιοι τῶν ιερῶν εὔχῶν ...; 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 100
 ὅπόταν ἐθέλασιν γυρέψειν νὰ πουλήσουν τίποτι, νὰ εἴναι ἔκπτωτοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας
 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῆς 1615, Santorini, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 9, 5.47-8

5.1.4.2 Genitive Adjuncts

- (68) Genitive NPs may be used to mark the reason for/cause of an eventuality, or to specify a time/place within which something occurred.

Genitive of Reason/Cause

- ἢλθε μου λακταρισμὸς νὰ πέσω ν' ἀποθάνω καὶ ν' ἀποθάνω δ ἐλεεινὸς αἰφνίδιον
θανάτου 15th c., *Peri xen.* 331
 δλιγοψύχησεν πολλὰ κι ἔπεσεν τοῦ θανάτου 15th c., *Peri xen.* 401
 μὰ κλαίγει καὶ τοῦ τύχης του πολλὰ παραπονᾶται
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* III.508
 ἀκόμη τόγγονοῦ μου τοῦ Τζάν Φραντζέσκο τοῦ Κορνάρο ... παραπονοῦμαι
 1625, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1986: 6, 79.23
 μιὰ ψυχὴ, ἀπού εύρισκεται τοῦ πόθου ἀρρωστημένη, σφαίνει τοι πλιάτερες φορὲς
 καὶ μένει κομπωμένη 17th c., TROILOS, *Rodol.* IV.163-4

NOTE

- (i) The genitive of reason/cause may be used absolutely in a number of archaic/conventionalized exclamations that originate for the most part in liturgical texts and represent a reaction to a situation or occurrence:
- ἐνέβην ἐς τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἀρμενίσαν – ὃ τοῦ θαύματος! – παραῦτα ἐγίνην ζάλη καὶ
 ἥρτα νὰ πνιγοῦσιν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 62.11-13
 παγαίνοντας εἰς τὸ σπίτι του, – ὃ τοῦ θαύματος! – ἀπὸ τὸ σακούλι, δπου ἔβαλε
 τὸ κεφάλι, ἔτρεχεν αἷμα! 16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 253.23-4
 ὃ τῆς μακροθυμίας σου, δέσποτα πολυελεε Θεέ! 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.12-13

Genitive of Place/Time

The genitive is used residually, mainly in fixed expressions, to denote an area within/via which, or a period of time during/within which, something takes place.

Place

- ἄν θέλω ... νὰ στείλω (τὰ φουσσάτα) μὲ τὰ κάτεργα νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς θαλάσσης κι
 ἀπαύτου ... νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς στερεάς, ... νὰ τὸν (= τὸν τόπον σου) ἐπάρουν
 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4233-7

Time

- εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἐτήρησα πολλοῦ καιροῦ κτισμένη 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 17
τῆς ὥρας ἐκατέβη κάτω ἀπὸ τὸ θεῖον κελίον αὐτοῦ καὶ δρισε καὶ ἀνοιξαν τὴν
 ἐκκλησίαν 16th c., MALAXOS M., *Ist. patr.* 218.32-3
 ἐκεὶ ἐπροσεύχετον ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.7

NOTE

- (i) There are a few related phrases of the same type involving an extended use of the genitive to denote the medium of communication:

Σαρακηνὸς ἐλάλησεν τὸν ἀμιρᾶν τῆς γλώσσης 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 21

- (69) The genitive is widely used to mark NPs functioning as adnominal modifiers, i.e. that variously delimit the denotation of the head nouns they are in construction with.

It is often difficult to say what the precise meaning of a given genitive is, and any classificatory system of adnominal genitive adjuncts will necessarily be in some degree arbitrary; here they are grouped under three general headings, possession, specification and description.

Genitive of Possession/Belonging

- τίς ... τὴν χαρὰν νὰ ισχύσῃ καταλέξειν, τίς τοῦ λαοῦ τὴν χαρμονὴν ..., τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου πολιτῶν ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit. f.7v.3–10*
- κλίνει τῶν δύων τὰς κεφαλάς, γαβροῦ καὶ θυγατρός του 15th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil. N* 1528
- συνάχθητε ὅμοι ὁδε σήμερον, νὰ μαδήσωμεν τὰ γένια τοῦ σπανοῦ 16th c./?14th–15th c., *Spanos D* 1149–50
- ἀπ' αὐτὰ ἔχαλασεν τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἡ ἄρμάτα 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1896
- στὰς δεκαπέντε τοῦ μηνός, λέγω τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου 16th c., *ZINOS, Alex. Rim. Epil.* 57
- ὅμως ἀνέβη καὶ ἔκαμεν εἰς τὰ γόνατα τοῦ Διὸς τὰ αὔγα 16th c., *Vios Aisop. K* 205.5

NOTE

- (i) The possessive genitive may also be used predicatively, sometimes with additional nuances:
μὴ βλέπῃς τὸ ἀπάκιν μας, οὐκ ἔνι τοῦ λάρυγγός σου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 248
“it's not your throat's” = “for your throat”

Genitive of Specification (defining the particular case/kind, with various nuances)

- μονοκύθρου μ' ἔδωκε καθ' ὑπνους μυρωδία 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 235
- εἰ μὲν συμβῇ δ ἀφέντης του ... καὶ νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ εἰς φυλακήν, εἰς τιμωρίαν σιδήρων, νὰ τὸν ζητήσῃ δ ἀφέντης του καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀνακράξῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7572–4
- ἀμμὲ δ σίρ Τουμᾶς δὲν τὸν ἐλείψεν ἡ πικρία τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ του 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron. A* 28.15

“the bitterness of (arising from) his brother's death”

- τότες δὲν εἶναι καιρὸς τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲ πισῶς, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα παρακάλεσι ἀπρακτή καὶ ἀνωφέλετη 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 159–60

“a time of (to seek) relief/assistance”

- εἰς τὸ ἐκλαμπρότατον Κολέγιον Χανδάκου Κρήτης 1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.12–13

“the College of Chandax of (in) Crete”

ἐδά ν' καιρὸς τοῦ προσευκῆς, δάκρυα δριμιά τυχαίνου, νὰ συμπαθήσῃ δ Κύριος πάσα κριματισμένου 17th c./16th–17th c., *Thysia Avr.* 579–80

ἔρχινίσασιν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον νὰ κτίζουσι μοναστήρια καὶ νὰ πρεμαζώνουνται τὰ πλήθη τῶν μοναχῶν 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 31.20–1

δργισθήκασι περίσσα καὶ ἀφρίζασι ἀπὸ λύσσα ἐκδίκησης 18th c., *EFTHYM.*, *Chron. Gal.* 16.23–4

“fury of (for/arising from) revenge”

Genitive of Description (including measures)

ἔτερον χωράφιν εἰς τὴν Παληρέαν μοδίων τη' ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27

ἐννόμους δὲ γάμους πληροῦσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, ὅταν εἶναι ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς χρόνων ιδ' καὶ ἀνωθεν, ... καὶ ἡ γυναῖκα νὰ ἔναι χρόνων ιβ' καὶ ἀνωθεν ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.400–2

εἰς τὸ κουμοῦ τῆς Βενετίας ἔξεβησαν ἀνθρῶποι γνώσεως μεγάλης καὶ στρατεῖας 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 950–1

ἔβγηκε κακῆς προαιρέσεως ἀνθρωπὸς καὶ ἔβουλεύθη κακὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὅπού τὸν ἀνάθρεψεν 16th c., *DIONYS.*, *Istor.* 252.11–13

εύρισκουνται ἄνδρες τοῦ σπαθίου τριανταπέντε χιλιάδες 1609, Cyprus, CHASIOTIS 1972: 35, 59.10

5.1.5 Dative

- (70) In vernacular LMedG/EMG the dative case is no longer employed creatively and survives chiefly in lexicalized clichés and other fossilized expressions such as dating formulae.

In early texts, however, the dative is not uncommon in short verbal phrases comprising imperatives and personal pronouns; subsequently, dative pronouns (often with other verb forms) are a mark of influence from more learned registers and/or of traditional practice in certain “higher” domains.

Its occasional appearance as a variant of other cases or forms of expression involving more complex NPs is typically inspired by traditional usage in a specific domain or by the actual words of an ancient (often religious) source.

Dative Pronouns

[φέρε με καὶ βλάχικον τυρίν σταμεναρέαν], καὶ δός μοι νὰ προγεύσωμαι καὶ πάλιν νὰ πετσώνω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 119–20

δότε μοι πετσίν διὰ τὰ ὑποδήματά μου 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 144

“τὶ ἔνι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅπερ λέγεις,” εἴπε μοι ὅτι “ὁ μητροπολίτης Φιλίππων” 1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.57–8

ἔμένα ... φαίνεται μοι ὡς ἀναγκαιότατον ... πρῶτον διατρός 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 286.4–5

Ξελγα «βοηθεῖτε μοι!» κ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀφήκασί με 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 63

Fossilized Phrases/Dating Formulae

- ἐν τούτῳ παύομαι ἐδῶ νὰ λέγω κι ἀφηγοῦμαι περὶ τοῦ ρῆγα Κάρουλου
14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7955–6
- ἔχαρισμε τοῦ Γεωργίου ... τὸ κοπέλι ..., ὁνόματι Φίλιππο Θοδόση Βεντούρη
1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPoulos 1983: 72, 36.1–4
- τῇ ιε' αὐγούστου ,ασπ' τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Θεοτόκου ἐστέφθη ὁ ρὲ Χαρήν εἰς τὴν
χώραν τῆς Τύρου ρῆγας
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 42.3–5
- (τὰ δαιμόνια) εἶχαν πέσει ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν, τότες ὅποι ἡθέλησαν νὰ
γένουν ὅμοιοι τῷ Θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.27–30
- ἐν τῷ ἄμα τοῦ ἔστειλε λόγον
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 29.3
- διὰ τοῦτο γράφω ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ ποιῶ παραίτησιν τοῦ θρόνου τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς
Καρπάθου
1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.14–15
- ἀποφασίσαμεν ἀπαντες κοινῇ γνώμῃ καὶ βουλῇ ὅτι νὰ πωλήσωμεν τὰ κελλία τῆς
μεγάλης Μέστης
1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.5
- περὶ ταῖς καλαίς σας ὑγείαις πολλὰ τὸ ἔχαρηκα καὶ παρακαλῶ τὸν Θεόν νὰ τὴν εὔρῃ
ἡ παροῦσα ἐν ὑγείαις καὶ πάσῃ χαρᾷ
1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 16, 216.5–6
- Ιστορία Γαλαξειδίου ... Διὰ χερὸς Εύθυμου ιερομονάχου ἔτος ... αψγ' μηνὶ Μαρτίου
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 13.1–10

Some Other Uses

- ἄλλο μήνυμαν ἐκ τοὺς ἀποσωστάς σου τῷ βασιλεῖ κατέλαβεν γέμον χαράν μεγάλην
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit. f.1r.3–8*
- "ambassadors to the emperor"
ο ... πάπας ... ἔταξε νὰ δίδῃ κάθε μῆνα τὰ αὐθεντόπουλα δουκάτα τριακόσια,
δωσπερ ἔδιδε καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ πατρὶ αὐτῶν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 284.9–11

(traditional high style in reference to the emperor, as above)

- ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρὰ Ἄννα ... λοιμώδει νόσῳ
15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22–3
(instrumental dative as in AG)
- ἔσγάψαν τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐμπῆκαν μέσα, καὶ ἐπροσεύχουνταν τῷ Θεῷ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 30.5–6
(+ dative in AG, though normally used absolutely in New Testament)

λέγουσιν ... πώς ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἀναπνοῇ σᾶν ἔναν ζύγιν αἱ πρᾶξες τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων
ζυγιάζονται καὶ δοκιμάζονται
16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 567–8

5.2 Complements of Nouns

Complementation of nouns is frequent, although not mandatory as it is with verbs or prepositions: participants fulfilling key semantic roles are not always represented by concrete linguistic expressions (e.g. *her marriage (to John), her claim (that X)*).

5.2.1 Subjective and Objective Genitives

The genitive subjects of NPs headed by nouns denoting actions (usually deverbal nouns) are not, strictly speaking, complements of the relevant head nouns any more than the subjects of sentences containing the related verbs are complements of those verbs. On the other hand, nouns denoting actions, or the agents of actions, may take true genitive NP complements, with a role corresponding to that of the direct object of the related transitive verb. Despite this grammatical difference it is convenient to treat subjective and objective genitives together in that they have the same syntactic distribution, appearing after the head noun unless preposed for emphasis or contrast (though preposing is often employed *metri gratia* in verse texts without obvious emphasis). In practice, therefore, co-occurrence of subjective and objective genitives is rare, and occurs only in early/more literary texts:

τοῦ Καλλιμάχου ζήτησις πάλιν πρὸς Χρυσορρόην τῆς πατρικῆς γεννήσεως, τῆς
χώρας καὶ τοῦ πάθους
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 600–1

The need for a double genitive construction is avoided by replacing one with a prepositional phrase (normally headed by ἀπό for subjective genitives, εἰς/πρός/μέ etc. for objective genitives; see Rule (72) NOTE (i) for examples of the latter).

(71) A NP in construction with a noun denoting an action may fulfil a role analogous to that of a subject in a sentence; such NPs are inflected in the genitive.

It is difficult to draw a line between subjective and possessive genitives (for which see 5.1.4.2); genitives are treated here as subjective when the head noun denotes something clearly more active than a simple property or quality of the NP in question.

κατὰ τὸ πεῖν τοὺς πραγματευτάδες καὶ τοῦ ναυκλέρου καὶ τοὺς ναύτας
15th c./?13th c., Cyprus, *Assizes B* 296.16–17

ἡ δὲ ἡ ρήγιανα ἐκάτεν εἰς τὸν ἥλιακὸν εἰς τὸ διάβαν τοὺς καβαλλάριδες καὶ ὄλου
τοῦ λαοῦ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. V* 50.12–13

εἴδαμεν τές ἀναζήτησεις τοῦ ἐνὸς μέρου καὶ τές ἀπόκρισεις τοῦ ἐτέρου μέρους πολλὰς
καὶ πλείστας φοράς
1575, Kefalonia, VAYONAKIS et al. 2008: 10, 63.4

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγκάλες καὶ κυβέρνησες ἐνοῦ πριντζίπου τόσο γλυκότατου
1671, Cythera, PSARAS 1989: 150.16

(72) A NP in construction with a noun denoting an action, or the agent of an action, may fulfil a role analogous to that of the object of a transitive verb; such NPs are inflected in the genitive.

With Action Nouns

- δ τρέχων εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οὐκ ἔχει φόβον πενθερᾶς 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 126-7
τῶν δύναν μου κουφισμόν, ἐπαύξησιν ζωῆς μου καὶ τῆς πνοῆς μου σύστασιν πῶς
 νὰ τὴν ἔξεπλέξω; ?12th c. or 13th-14th c., Eosit. f.8r.7-10
 καὶ εἰς πόθον τῆς ἀγάπης σου ἔφερεν τὴν ψυχήν μου 15th c./?14th-15th c., Achil. L 723
 ἐτρέχασιν δλοι ἀπό τὸν φόβον τοῦ βασιλέως, ... ὁδίᾳ νὰ κάμῃ θυσίαν τῶν
ψευδωνύμων θεῶν 17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 38.5-7

With Agent Nouns

- ἵκουσαν τὰ δικαιώματα ... τοῦ κύρου Μιχέλη Γκελάρδου καὶ κυράτζα Θουμαγής ὡς
 κυβερνήτρα τῶν παιδιῶν της 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 46, 43.2-4
 ἐπεμψε τὸ παράκλητον Πνεῦμα εἰς τοὺς ἄγιους του μαθητάς καὶ θεωρούς τῶν
μυστηρίων του 17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 31.1-2

NOTE

- (i) With certain head nouns, particularly when these are not formally action nouns (i.e. ending in -σις, -ισμός etc.), and also with some adjectives, a prepositional phrase may be used instead of a genitive, sometimes with a slight difference of meaning (cf. *love of X* and *love for X*). Each such lexical item selects a characteristic preposition or set of prepositions:

ἀγάπην εἶχεν ἀπειρον εἰς αὐτὴν ὁ πατήρ της καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν πολλὴν ἦν
πρὸς ἐκείνην εἶχεν 15th-16th c./?14th-15th c., Achil. N 759-60
 ἀπ' ἐκεῖ πάλε ἀρχεψεν ἡ ἔχθρα μὲ τοὺς ἀδελφούς τοῦ ἀντρός της 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 312.2-3
 ἥτονε μαθηματική εἰς τὰ γράμματα πολλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἔμπειρη 1565-75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.7

5.2.2 Partitive Genitives

- (73) Nouns and pronouns denoting a part/subset of a larger whole may take a genitive NP complement denoting the relevant whole.

Other than in very early and archaizing texts, NPs whose heads take a definite partitive complement are themselves normally definite, perhaps reflecting a growing avoidance of combinations of NPs that disagree in definiteness.

αὐτὸς ὁ Εὐλάλιος καὶ ἀν ἔλθη καὶ ὁ Χήναρος ἐκεῖνος ... οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν ζωγράφων,
 τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἔξορθώνουσι 15th c./12th c., Ptoch. (Maiuri) 43-5
 αἰσχύνομαι τούς στρατηγούς καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ πλῆθος 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 120
 τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐλαττωμένον εἶχε 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 288
 ἐπέθανεν τὸ ἥμισον τοῦ νησού 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 60.26-7

NOTES

- (i) Exceptions to the definiteness requirement are rare and early:

τινές δὲ τῶν χιρεκάκων ἡνέφεραν τὸν αὐθέντην μου
 ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.31

- (ii) A prepositional phrase headed by δπό/ἐκ is normally used instead of a genitive when the head is a bare numeral or an indefinite pronoun/quantifier. This allows an indefinite NP to stand in construction with a definite NP without violation of the definiteness constraint:

μίαν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας εἰς ἦν ἐθάρρει πλέον, παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοὺς δλους
 νὰ προλάβῃ 12th c. or 13th-14th c., Eosit. f.3r.9-12
 τὸ πῶς ἤγάπα κ' ἤθελεν κάλλιον νὰ εἴχειν χάσει μίαν ἀπὸ τές χῶρες του ἐκ τές
καλλιώτερές του 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7085-6

ἔκραξε δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ γράφει τους πιττάκια 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8319

καὶ εἰς ἐκ τοὺς φιλόσοφους τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐλάλειε 16th c./14th c., Byz. II. 846
 πολλοὶ ἀπὸ τοὺς καβαλλάριδες ἀχόρταγοι καὶ πτωχοὶ ἐβάλαν τὰ χέρια τους
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 82.27-8

δὲ τοῦ ἀβοήθησε τινὰς ἀπὸ τὰ παιδιά μου 1642, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 246, 197.31
 κατὶ γοῦν ἀπὸ ἐκείνους τοὺς πειράτες, ... ἐπήγαστι τρέχοντας γοργὸν

18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 16.16-19

- (iii) The prepositional phrase construction is also used when expressions of this kind have uniquely identified referents (= “the one of the pair/set of X with some distinguishing property”):

ἔκραξε δύο ἀπὸ τοὺς Ρωμαίους καὶ γράφει τους πιττάκια ὁ ἔνας ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς τὸ
ἔγραψεν ὅπου ἔξευρεν νὰ γράφῃ 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8319-20

βρεῖ θέλει τρόπον δμορφο νὰ δῇ νὰ τοῦ μιλήσῃ, τὸν ἔνα ἀπὸ τοὺς δυο τῶνε νὰ
πάρῃ, ὅποιον δρίσῃ 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Erof. II.19-20

5.2.3 Clausal Complements

- (74) Many nouns take clausal complements, especially those formally and/or semantically related to verbs with clausal complements (see Chapter 2). The type of complement in any given case is largely determined by the meaning class of the noun in question.

With (τοῦ/διά) νά

Clausal complements of nouns with meanings related to those of control verbs (“power”, “decision”, “command”, “hope”, promise”, “intention” etc.) normally take complements containing subjunctive verb forms marked with νά. With some nouns, especially in the “hope”/“promise” domain, there is overlap between νά-clauses and clauses introduced by δτ/πώς (see below).

- ἀπόκρισιν τοῦ ἔδωκεν πρόθυμα νὰ τὸ ποιήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5677
ἔγω σὲ παραδίδω τὴν ἀφεντίαν ὅπου κρατῶ νὰ στήκης διὰ τὴν κούρτην, νὰ κρένης.
 γάρ καὶ νὰ κρατῆς τὸ δίκαιον μὲ τὸν νόμον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7539-41
ἔχει ἐλπίδα εἰς τὸν Θεόν πολλὰ νὰ τὸ ἀγαπήσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8699
 μετὰ τοῦτο νὰ χῇ ὅμπλεγο νὰ τόνε πάρῃ, σὰν ἀποθάνῃ, νὰ τόνε κηβέψῃ στὸ
 ἄνωθεν μοναστήρι καὶ νὰ τόνε μνημονεύῃ
- 1610, Crete (Rethymno region), BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 662, 576.11-12

NOTES

- (i) The negative in νά-clauses is μή(v), though νά may then be omitted (in verse texts often *metri gratia*):
- βουλὴν ἡπῆρεν μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἐπίλοιπον μὴ χάσῃ 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1024
διδοντας δρδενε νὰ μὴν πγιαίνῃ τινάς ἐκεῖ 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 38.34
- (ii) Νά-clauses complementing verbs may contain the genitive article τοῦ (see 2.2, Rule (26) NOTE (ii)), but this occurs with nouns in only a few examples from the *Chronicle of Morea* where there is a pause or significant gap between the noun and its dependent clause:
- Ισιάστησαν μὲ τὸ Κουμοῦ εἰς τέτοιες συμφωνίες τοῦ νὰ τοῦ δώσῃ τὸ Κουμοῦ ...
 τέσσαρα κάτεργα καλά 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2779-82
- ἐποίησε γάρ ὁ πρίγκιπας τὸ ὅμάτζιον πρὸς τὸν ρῆγα τοῦ νὰ κρατῇ τὸν τόπον
 του ἀπὸ τὸν ρῆγα Κάρλον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 6477-8
- (iii) Rarely, and chiefly in later texts from Crete and Cyprus, νά-complements may also be preceded by διά, which again tends to be used when there is a gap between a noun and its dependent clause, but this is by no means a requirement:
- ἔγδέχετον μαντάτον ἀπὸ τὴν Κύπρον, διά νὰ ὥρῃ, νὰ τοῦ δώσουν τὴν
 ἀρχιεπισκοπήν 16th c./15th c., *VOUSTR., Chron.* A 14.7-8
 τὰ στεκάμενα ὅπου ἀγόρασε τοῦ μοναστηρίου ἡτούε ἀφορμή διὰ νὰ μὴν ἔλθῃ
 κακός γείτονας εἰς τὸ μοναστήρι 1615, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 6, 175.43-4

Indirect Questions

Nouns with an appropriate meaning may take an indirect question as a complement (see also 2.4). Interrogative phrases in clause-initial position regularly attract the verb (cf. 1.4, Rules (16), (17), (18)), with overt subjects then following.

Indirect questions complementing nouns are less liable to nominalization with τό than those with verbs (2.4, Rule (31) NOTE (i)), though the option is common with stereotyped periphrases meaning "consider"/"decide" in which a semantically "light" verb (= "give", "take", "make") is combined with βουλὴν as its object.

- καὶ τότε διδουν τὴν βουλὴν τὸ ποῦ νὰ πάν νὰ κλέψουν 15th c., *Diig. Ven.* 81
 χωρὶς νὰ ἔχῃς ἔννοιαν ἴντα νὰ τοὺς πλερώσῃς

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.32-3

- ἐποίησαν βουλὴν τί νὰ ποιήσουν εἰς ἔτουτουνούς τοὺς κακοποιούς ἀνθρώπους
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* E 171.3-4 (Lolos)
ἐποίησεν βουλὴν τὸ τί νὰ ποιήσουνε εἰς ἔτουτουνούς τούς κακοποιούς ἀνθρώπους
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* F 170.3-4 (Lolos)
ἔπεσεν εἰς λογισμὸν μέγα, τὸ πῶς νὰ ποιήσῃ νὰ μηδὲν ἐντροπιαστῇ
 16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 361.27-8
 μὲ μεγάλη ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς περνᾶ ἢ πανιερότη σου
- 1612, Crete (Chania region), CHAIKETI 1969: 4, 171.9-10
 λέγοντας πρὸς τὸν βασιλέαν τὴν ἀφορμήν, διατί δὲν τὸν ἔχαλασεν
 17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 275.37-8

With μή(v)/μήπως καὶ

In parallel with semantically related verbs (see 2.3), nouns meaning "fear"/"anxiety" etc. may take a complement clause introduced by μή(v)/μήπως καὶ (with negative οὐ(k)/(oὐ) δέν). As fear is typically for what may happen in the future, the verb forms attested are overwhelmingly subjunctive, though the particle νά is not normally employed in this inherently modal domain.

The usual integrity of the μή(v) + verb combination is retained even though the negative here has acquired pseudo-complementizer status; μή(v) and the verb are therefore adjacent (apart from clitic pronouns), and overt subjects follow.

- εἶχεν μέγαν φόβον μὴ πιάσῃ καὶ τυφλώσῃ τὸν, εἰς φυλακὴν τὸν βάλη καὶ λάβη
ἄδικον θάνατον καὶ χάσῃ τὸ κορμί του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4891-3
ό νοῦς μου σ' ἔγνοια μπαίνει, μὴν εἰν' κιανεῖς στὸ σπίτι της καὶ βρίσκεται κρυμμένος
 16th c., CHORTATSI, Katz II.94-5

ἔχοντας ρεσπέτο ..., μήπως καὶ δώσου του κιανένα καιρὸν καμίας λογῆς πείραξη
 1603, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 193, 202-203.4-5

With (δ)πού

A noun that is *factive* (see 2.1, Rule (24)) may take a complement introduced by (δ)πού + indicative. The construction seems to be of relatively recent origin (16th c. onwards): in earlier texts, as well as sometimes also after the 16th c., we find simply δτ/πώς (see immediately below for more examples).

Factive with δτ/πώς

- εύρεθη τὸ ἀληθές, ὅτι ἢ ἐλαία ἔνι τῆς μονῆς τοῦ παπᾶ κύρῳ Διονυσίου
 1395, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 8, 76.20
μὰ ἔχει μεγάλη παραπόνεση πῶς δὲ τοῇ στέλνει ἢ πανιερότη σου δυὸς λόγια
 1610, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 3, 169.3-4

Factive with (δ)πού

- τοῦτο ἡτούε μέγα θαῦμα ... ὅπου ἢ κιβωτὸς ... ἔξεβλάστωσεν καὶ ἔκαμε κλωνάρια
καὶ φύλλα καὶ σηνὴ καὶ καρπὸν εύμορφότατον
 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 333.27-36

όπου ύπηγεν δ Καισαρείας εις τὸν Πάτταν, εἰδησιν δὲν ἤξευρε
16th c., Chron. Ps.-Doroth. (1572) 179–80

οι Σαρακηνοὶ ... εἶχανε μεγάλην χαρά, όπου ἥρθε προφήτης εἰς τὸν τόπον τους
17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soutl. 128.13–14

τὸ χῶ μεγάλο παράπονο όπου οἱ ἄλλοι πραγματευτάδες ἔλαβαν γραφὴν ἀπό
τοὺς Κοθωναῖους στὶς 15 Νοεμβρίου
1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 19, 218.2–5

With δτι/(τὸ) πώς

Nouns semantically related to verbs of declaration, belief etc. routinely take complements introduced by δτι/(τὸ) πώς with an indicative (negative οὐ(κ)/οὐδέ(ν)) or νά + subjunctive (negative μή(ν)); the two items are more or less functionally equivalent, though δτι is more formal/traditional in character and πώς allows for nominalization.

In the “hope/promise” domain δτι/πώς-clauses containing verb forms marked with νά alternate with bare νά-clauses (on which see above).

In earlier/more learned texts subjects may come immediately after δτι and stand directly before the verb; the normal order in a πώς-clause is complementizer–verb–subject, and δτι-clauses increasingly follow this pattern in more vernacular texts.

δτι

εύρεθη τὸ ἀληθές, δτι ἡ ἐλαία ἔνι τῆς μονῆς τοῦ παπᾶ κύρῳ Διονυσίου
1395, Athos, OIKONOMIDÈS 1968: 8, 76.20

μανδάτον γάρ τὸν ἥφερα ... δτι τὴν γῆν ἐφθάσαμεν 15th–16th c./14th c., Poulot. 577–8

ἐθιόρκισέν τον δτι νά μὲν θελήσῃ ποτὲ νά ποισῃ τίτοιον κακόν, δτι δυό
πρωτανιψία νά σμικτοῦν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 34.6–8

εἶχεν ἐλπίδα δτι θέλει τοῦ κάμει νά ίδῃ καὶ αὐτὸς κανένα θαῦμα
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 374.32–3

ἀπὸ κεῖ ἐβγῆκε ὁ λόγος δτι ἀπόθανε ὁ σουλτάνος Μουράτης καὶ ἐκάθησε βασιλεὺς ὁ
νίος αὐτοῦ ὁ Μπαγιαζίτης
17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soutl. 29.7–9

ἀπὸ τότε ἐκάμασι νόμον οἱ Τούρκοι δτι ... νά πιάνουσι οἱ καπικήδες τὰ δύο του
χέρια
17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soutl. 27.34–5

(τὸ) πώς

έφεραν του μαντάτον πώς εἶνε εἰς τὴν Καλοψίδαν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 632.33–4

έπηγεν τὸ μαντάτον εἰς τὸν ρήγαν πώς ἥρτεν ὁ ἀπόστολος εἰς τὴν Κύπρον
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 18.17–18

δὲ μπορῶ, ... παρὰ ... τὰ πάθη ν' ἀπομένω μ' ἐλπίδα πώς κιαμιὰ φορὰ ν' ἀλλάξῃ ὁ
λογισμός σου, νά μοῦ χαρίσῃ ἀνάπταψη ὁ πόθος ὁ δικός σου
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Panor. II.363–6

καλῶς τὸ πιάσε ή χέρα μου τὸ μαρμαρένιο χέρι, κεῖνο ποὺ ὀλπίδα μοῦ ὅδωκε τὸ πώς
σὲ κάνω ταίρι
18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, Erot. III.1491–2

ἡλθεν μαντάτο τὸ πώς ἔχειροτονήθη ἄλλος ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἔρχεται· καὶ τότες
ἔβγάλλει ἔνα γράμμα ..., τὸ πώς μὲ κάθητρες, καὶ νά μή συνάξω καμμίας λογῆς
εἰσόδημα ἀπό τὴν ἐπαρχίαν
1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.6–10

εἰδησιν διδω τῆς βασιλείας σου, πώς εἰς τὰς δέκα τοῦ Ὁκτωμβρίου μηνὸς ἤλθαμεν
Στοκόλου
1654, Stockholm (author from Athens), TCHENTSOVA 2004: 4, 56.11

πώς εἰσθεν ὅλοι σας κουφοὶ μαντάτο πά νά δώσω
17th c., KONDAR., Paides 16

NOTE

(i) “Οτι is also used to introduce direct speech, particularly in stylistically less ambitious texts/documents:

έφεραν τὸν πατέρα του μηνύματα βαρέα δτι· “Τινὲς ἀλλογενεῖς τές χῶρες σου
κουρσεύουν ... ”
15th c./14th–15th c., Achil. L 101–2

ἐποίησαν βουλήν δτι τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον νά μή τὸν ἔχωμεν εἰς τὸ κάστρον μας
16th c., Diig. Alex. E 163.5–6 (Lolos)

ἐν τῷ ὅμα τοῦ ἔστειλε λόγον δτι· “Ο πατέρας σου σὲ θέλει νά σου ὁμιλήσῃ”
17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soutl. 29.3–4

With καὶ

A formally coordinated καὶ-clause may be substituted for a wide range of sentential complements to verbs (see Chapter 2) but is comparatively rare with nouns.

τοῦτον ἥτον ἡ ἀφορμή, καὶ ὁργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔπεισεν ἀπάνω τους
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 16.12–16

εύρεθην ἐκεῖ ὁ ὀμιρᾶς ὀνόματι Μεχλίν Πέχηνα, δπου ἥτον ἀφορμή καὶ ἀρχεύτην ἡ
μάχη
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 206.27–8

ἄν ἐπεθάναν ὅλοι οἱ Γενουβίσοι, καὶ θέλει ἔρτειν καιρὸς καὶ ὁ δαρμένος θέλει δέρειν!
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 208.1–4

τὰ μαῦρα ἐσύ 'σουν ἀφορμή κι' ἔριξα, σὰ θυμᾶσαι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Katz II.359

ἐκείνη τοῦ 'διδε ἀφορμή κ' ἡμπαινε σ' ἔτοια κρίση
18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, Erot. I.1150

5.3 Adjuncts of Nouns

5.3.1 Genitive Adjuncts

See Rule (69) above.

5.3.2 Articles and Other Determiners

5.3.2.1 Definite NPs and the Definite Article

(75) The use of a definite NP in LMedG/EMG presupposes that its referent can be uniquely identified within the relevant universe of discourse.

Definiteness may be *semantic* (NPs with inherently unique referents independently of context) or *pragmatic* (NPs whose unique identification depends crucially on the specific context). The definite article is used in LMedG/EMG to mark both semantic and pragmatic definiteness, though its appearance is by no means universal in that definiteness is a given in the former case and may be so strongly invited in the latter as to seem redundant (see below for details).

The article is the initial element of a definite NP (apart from any items preposed for emphasis/contrast), though in a series of conjoined definite NPs, or definite NPs in apposition, it is not uncommon for the first alone to be overtly determined:

- οἱ σελᾶς καὶ σαμαρᾶς χρῶνται καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα καὶ ὅπου δ' ἂν καὶ χρειαστοῦν,
εὐρίσκουν με εἰς δέμαν
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 626-7
- οἱ Νικόλας καὶ μαστρ'-Αντρέας καὶ Γεώργης, ὁδελφοὶ Μαρκόπουλοι, ἥρθαν στὴ
παροῦσαν σύβαση καὶ οἱ τρεῖς θεληματικοί
1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.2-3

Semantic Definiteness

The article appears frequently in NPs containing a modifier that confers uniqueness (e.g. "the biggest X", "the one/the other X", "the first etc. X" of a known set), in generic/abstract NPs (e.g. "the truth" as a concept/ideal, "the dog" as a species, "the rich" as a class), in NPs headed by unique reference nouns (e.g. "the sun", "the capital of Italy") and with proper names used referentially; but optionality persists, especially in earlier texts, poetry and those prose genres (mainly legal and religious) shaped by more traditional conventions.

Already by the 9th c., however, articles are used with some regularity to mark semantic definiteness in ordinary vernacular discourse, and by the end of our period the article is well on its way to becoming a conventionalized marker of such inherent definiteness (much as in MG).

- ἐκ νεότητός μου ἐπόθησα τὴν ἔλεγμοσύνην
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 676-7
- λαβὼν μόνον τοῦτον σὺ ἀπότρεχε, μὴ ἔξαργῃ τὸ ἔτερόν σου βοῦδιν
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 124-5
- διάβολος ... ἐζήλωσεν αὐτὸν ὡς ποτε τὸν ἱώβ ... Οὐδὲν γάρ θαυμαστὸν ἔφησεν ...
ποιήσειν τὸν ἄνδρα ... παρέχων τοῖς πρένησιν
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 34-9
- τῆς δὲ χήρας αἱ θυγατέρες, ἢ μὲν πρώτη ἡ Μαρία, ἢ δὲ δευτέρα Μυρανθία, ἢ δὲ
τρίτη Εύανθία
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 477-8
- ώς χριστιανοὶ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, νὰ εἰπῆτε καὶ νὰ κρίνετε ἐσω
στὸ δίκαιο ἀπάνω
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2359-60
- ὅ δ' Ἀχιλλίος ἀκούσας, ... φέρνει στράτευμα Βουλγάρων
15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 3.236-8
- ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρά Ἀννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωσίας λοιμώδει νόσῳ
15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22-3
- τοῦ ἥλιου εἶπεν νὰ σταθῇ κ' ἐστάθηκεν στὴν ὠραν
17th c., KONDAR., *Paides* 37

The article does, however, remain optional, as noted:

- οὐκ εἰν ... περὶ πίστεως δόγματος
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.7-8
- πόθος γάρ πόθου στερηθεὶς ὑπομονὴν οὐκ ἔχει
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 16
- ἀφόντι ἐσώσθη τὸ σπίτι, ἔκαμαν λογαριασμόν, εἰς ὅσες ἡμέρες ἔκαμεν δουλειάν καὶ εἰς
ὅσες δὲν ἔκαμεν· καὶ δὲν χρεωστεῖ ἔνας τὸν ὄλλον
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 73, 56.3-5
- βασιλεύει ἥλιος, τὰ δένδρη γάρ λαλοῦσι, καὶ ἡ φωνή τους ἴνδικη, δὲν ξεύρω τί μιλοῦσι
16th c., Alex. Rim. 2113-14
- ἐτότες εἶδα φανερά νὰ ρίξῃ μὲ μεγάλη σπουδὴ στὸ στήθος μου Ἔρωτας χίλιες σαΐτες
πάλι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Panor.* I.329-30
- οἱ Ἱωάννης ἐβάπτισε μὲ νερόν ἀμή ἐσεῖς θέλετε βαπτισθεῖ μὲ Πνεῦμα Ἄγιον εἰς δλίγες
ἡμέρες
17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.*, *Praxeis* 1.5

Pragmatic Definiteness

The article is regularly used to mark pragmatic definiteness, e.g. when a NP is used anaphorically (e.g. *She met a man on the train. The man ...*), when a NP is definite through a familiar association (e.g. *She has a new car. The clutch ...*) or when a NP has a restrictive modifier, typically an adjective, appositive NP, genitive or relative clause, suggesting unique identifiability in context (e.g. *The book on the shelf ...*).

- ἥν τις ἄνθρωπος ... τοῦνομα Φιλάρετος, καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἥν εὐγενής
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 5-6
- σπόγγισον τὴν τράπεζαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν τὴν ἐλεφάντινον
11th c./9th c., *Vios Philaret.* 408-9
- διέρχεται τοὺς ἐσφραγισμένους τρεῖς μεγάλους δρῦας ..., ὡσαύτως καὶ τὴν μεγάλην
κουτουλὴν καρέαν, καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν τριστέλεγχον καρέαν καὶ τὸν ιστάμενον
πλησίον αὐτῆς δρῦν
1090-4, Athos, LEFORT et al. 1990: 45, 164.50-1
- ἔβαλαν οὖν διαλαλητὴν λαγόν τὸν μεγαλάπτην, ... ίνα συνάξῃ πάντας καὶ νὰ ἴδωσιν
τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρους
15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 44-6
- ἐν μηνὶ αὐγούστω τὸν ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρά Ἀννα ἡ ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωσίας λοιμώδει
νόσῳ, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ τοῦ Λιβός μονῇ
15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22-3
- τότε ἐξέβαλεν Φλαβιανὸν ... ὁ ἐπικατάρατος βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἔχειροτόνησε
Σεβῆρον ... Τὸν δὲ Φλαβιανὸν ἐξόρισεν εἰς Πέτρας
15th c., *Hist. Imp.* IIb 641-3
- ηὔρεν πτωχὸν γέρον εἰς τὰ δρη ... καὶ ἀποκαλύφθην τοῦ μοναχοῦ ἡ Θεοτόκος
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 36. 22-8
- ὅ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Γαλιάτος δίδει τὴν ἀγελέαν του τὴν ἄνωθεν τὴν μαύρη τοῦ ἄνωθεν
κυρ-Γεωργητά, νὰ σπείρῃ δόφετος
1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.6-7
- τοὺς ἐζήτησε τὸ κάστρο τὴν Φιλαδελφείαν
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soul.* 30.12
- λῦσον ταύτην τὴν γραφήν, διὰ τὴν ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ
1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 175.59-60

τὸ πρῶτον ψάρι ὅπου ἔβγη, πιάσ' το 17th c., KALLIOUP., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 17.27
μοῦ ἔφεραν μαλλὶ φαγγότα 65 ... στεῖλε μου τὸν λογαριασμὸν
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 8, 214.3-5

But the anaphoric article may be omitted, especially in more informal genres, as in the following extract from a contract in which “(the) sellers and (the) buyer” have already been introduced by name:

τὸν ἐπέψασι πουλητάδες καὶ ἀγοραστής
 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 9, 31.10-11

The article marking definiteness by association is also optional, particularly when a series of nouns is linked in this way to an earlier NP:

τοὺς οὐρανούς τοὺς θαυμαστούς ὁρισεν κ' ἐγενῆκαν, ἀστρη, φεγγάριν κ' ἥλιος τότες
εὐθὺς ἔβγῆκαν 15th c., CHOURMOS, *Kosmog.* 19-20

κάλλιο νὰ ἡμια ὑπόδουλος τοῦ βασιλέως, παρὰ ν' ἀρνηθῶ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ μου
καὶ πιστεύω πατέρα, μιὸν καὶ ἄγιον πνεῦμα 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.16-18

And since, in the absence of indications to the contrary, restrictive modifiers strongly promote definite readings of the NPs containing them, the relevant article is frequently omitted as redundant. The optionality persists through our period and is particularly noteworthy for NPs inside prepositional phrases.

ἥη τις ἀνθρώπος ἐν χώρᾳ τῶν Παφλαγόνων 11th c./9th c., VIOS PHILARET. 5
ἀλλὰ περὶ πράξεως ἔνι καὶ ἐγκράτειαν τὴν ἐπαινομένην παρὰ πᾶσαν θεῖαν γραφήν

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.8-9

ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην, φωστήραν τὸν αὐγερινόν, ἥλιον τὸν
φωσφόρον 15th c./?12th c., DIG. E

ἔτάφη εἰς τὸ πάνσεπτον ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τοῦ Γερακιώτου ἐδὼ εἰς
πόρταν τὴν βασιλικήν 1387, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 96, 99.3-5

ἴντοι παρακαλῶ τῇ πανιερότῃ σου νὰ μοῦ θυμᾶσαι, γι' ἀγάπη τ' ἀφέντη τοῦ
Χριστοῦ 1612, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 4, 171.5-6

θέλω τὰ φορτώσει μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ποὺ νὰ ἔρθῃ στὸ Δυρράχιο
 1696, Albania, MERTZIOS 1947a: 8, 214.4-5

NOTES

(i) The most neutral position for an attributive adjective within a definite NP is between the article and the noun (ὁ σοφὸς X), though the option of placing the adjective after the noun with a repeated article is very common (ὁ X ὁ σοφός). The second type, involving “double definiteness” or “determiner spreading”, may be used specifically to indicate that the adjective denotes an already familiar property of the relevant entity, thus serving as the main identifier of the referent of the NP:

τοῦτο ψευδές ἐνόμιζον, ὅλως οὐκ ἔδεχόμην, τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ
δημωδῆς 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 19-20

τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἴμάτιν τὸ κυνηγάτον ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δός ὅπου
κελεύεις 14th c./12th c., PTOCH. I 60-1

δ βασιλίας ἐποίκεν νὰ τὸν μάθουσιν τὴν ἀγίαν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν καθολικήν
 16th c./15th-16th c., FIOR 150.15-16

(ii) Non-agreeing adverbial modifiers may also occupy the two adjectival slots within definite NPs, though the position between article and noun is typical of formulaic expressions in formal/legal discourse (“the above mentioned Mr X” etc.):

δ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Γαλιάτος δίδει τὴν ἀγελέαν του τὴν ἄνωθεν τὴν μάυρη τοῦ ἄνωθεν
κυρ-Γεωργηλά, νὰ σπείρῃ ὁφέτος 1599, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 57, 77.6-7

τὸ χωράφι τὸ μέσα ὅπου ἔχουνε φυτεμένο σταφίδα
 1636, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 15, 39.6

(iii) The neutral position for genitives within a definite NP is postnominal:

ὅς ἔχῃ τὸ χαρτί σου (καὶ) τ' ὄνομαν τοῦ δικαστοῦ 16th c., PIST. KEKOIM. 493-4
τὰ μετρητὰ τοῦ πεθεροῦ μου μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ὅπου θέλει ἔρθει νὰ μᾶς τὰ στείλης

1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 64, 240.4-5

Determiner spreading with genitives, however, is relatively rare, occurring mostly in early/archaizing texts and in verse:

ὅ δ' Ἄχιλλιος ἀκούσας, δούσιος ὁ τοῦ Πηλέως, φέρνει στράτευμα Βουλγάρων
 15th c./14th c., ERMON., *Ilias* 3.236-8

τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὸ καθαρόν τὸ στίλβον τὸ τοῦ κάλλους
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 179

(iv) Phrasal modifiers that normally occupy postnominal positions may be fronted before the definite article for emphasis or contrast. Preposed adjectival/adverbial expressions necessarily show determiner spreading, preposed genitives do so comparatively rarely (cf. (i)-(iii) above).

Determiner spreading in preposed/focalized constituents (so called “reverse determiner spreading”) is an innovation of LMedG/EMG, indicating a shift in the status of definite postnominal modifiers from clarificatory/appositional adjuncts that automatically followed the head in AG to restrictive modifiers amenable to the rules of focalization in LMedG/EMG:

ἥλθασιν καὶ ηγρασιν τὸ ἔρμηνευθὲν τὸ ρυάκιν 15th c./?12th c., DIG. E 78

δέλεγας δομενέστικος ἐπίστεψεν τοῦ Φράγκου 14th c., CHRON. MOR. H 4971

εἰς τὴν κλίνην Παλαμήδους τηνικαῦτα γοῦν τὸν θέτει τὸ τοῦ δόλου τὸ χαρτίον
 15th c./14th c., EPIRUS, ERMON., *Ilias* 6.216-18

τὸν τοῦ λουτροῦ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀλόχρυσον ἀν εἴποις
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 799

ἐδώκαμεν πρὸς τὸν τιμιότατον κύριον Μιχάλην τὸν Καθολικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ
 14th-15th c., ATHOS, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 147.2-3

έχομεν μεγάλον κίνδυνον ἀπό τὰ κορσάρικα τὰ καράβια

1696, Dyrrachion, MERTZIOS 1947a: 7, 214.14-15

βουλὴν ἐποίκασι οἱ ἀπιστοι ... νὰ ἀπεράσουσι στὸν Μορέα, κουρσεύοντας καὶ τοῦ
κόρφου τές μερίές

18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 15.12-16

5.3.2.2 Indefinite NPs and Indefinite Determiners

(76) The use of an indefinite NP indicates that the intended referent(s) cannot be identified uniquely in the relevant domain of discourse due to lack of relevant knowledge and/or the necessary contextual information.

Indefiniteness is marked in a variety of ways in LMedG/EMG, as explained below.

Zero Article

Unquantified mass and abstract nouns with existential (i.e. non-generic) meanings standardly appear without an article or other determiner.

τρόμος λοιπὸν κατέλαβε καὶ φόβος τὴν ψυχὴν μου 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 52
εἶσαι μπάλιος σήμερον καὶ ἔχεις ἔξουσίαν 16th c./14th c., Chron. Mor. P 7917
μὲν μεγάλη ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότητ σου 1612, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 4, 171.9-10
φαστὸ νὰ φάγη δὲ ζητᾶ μηδὲ πιοτό γυρεύγει 18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, Erot. IV.736

But indefinite NPs in general, both singular and plural, may lack overt determination throughout the period of this Grammar:

εἶχε δὲ καὶ σύμβιον τοῦνομα Θεοσεβοῦν 11th c./9th c., Vios Philaret. 16
ἡρχετο πρὸς αὐτὸν προσαιτής 11th c./9th c., Vios Philaret. 21
ὅρίζει φέρετε ἰστρούς, τὸν δεῖνα καὶ τὸν δεῖνα 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 564 app. crit. (H)
ἀρχάγγελος τοὺς ἔδιωξε δῷγιά νὰ καταντῆσουν δλόγδυμνοι, ξυπόλυτοι ἔξω τῆς
παραδείσου 15th c., CHOUKNOS, Kosmog. 119-20
νεκροῦ φωνὴν ἐγροίκησα καὶ δ νοῦς μου δλος ἐχάθην 16th c./15th c., Om. Nekr. Vas. 22
ἐπεψεν δούκαν δνόματι Ἰσάκιον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 8.38-9
ηὔρεν πτωχὸν γέρον εἰς τὰ ὅρη Μαραθάσας δνόματι Ἡσαΐας 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 36.22-3

κάτις καὶ ποντικὸς ἐμάχουντα 16th c.?, Paroim. H 28
δποτα ἔρθη πασάτσο καὶ δὲ μοῦ βαστοῦσι γραφή, μὲν μεγάλη ἔννοια βρίσκομαι πῶς
περνᾷ ἡ πανιερότητ σου 1612, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 4, 171.9-10

ἀπό τότε ἔκάμασι νόδουν οἱ Τούρκοι 17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 27.34

Ιστορία Γαλαξειδίου ἐβγαλμένη ἀπό παλαιὰ χερόγραφα, μεμβράνια, σιζίλια καὶ
χρυσόβουλλα αὐθεντικά 18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 13.1-3

NOTE

(i) Articles are also regularly absent from predicative NPs, since these do not refer but rather attribute a property to their subjects:

καταβλαττάς ἢν ἔμαθον καὶ σπικωτής ἢν ήμουν, ὡς σπικωτής νὰ ἔδούλευα τὴν
ἀπασαν ἡμέραν 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. III 181-2

ἥτον δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν, καλός ἀφέντης ἥτον 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7960

ἥτον παρθένος καὶ μετὰ τὴν γέννησιν πάλιν παρθένος ἔμεινεν 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 329.6-7

ὅθεν ἐγώ γεννήθηκα ἄνθρωπος χωρὶς μάτια 17th c., PROSOPAS, Peri tyfou 103

Tις/τινάς

Singular and plural forms of τις/τινάς are used as indefinite pronouns and determiners throughout the period of this Grammar in both positive (= "some(one)") and negative/affective (= "any(one)") environments; in fact, affective environments often allow both forms (with subtle differences of meaning) and include interrogative, modal, habitual, conditional, future-referring and imperative sentences, i.e. those involving semantic functions that do not ensure truth.

Singular forms used as determiners are often all but indistinguishable from indefinite articles (= "an X"), plurals from indefinite quantifiers (= "some/any [number of] X"). As a determiner τις/τινάς normally precedes the head noun, but may also follow.

The use of τις/τινάς in the plural and in positive environments is in decline in the later medieval period, especially in more clearly vernacular texts (see below).

Positive

τινὸς δὲ γεωργοῦ πτωχοῦ ἀροτριῶντος καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἴδιαν χώραν 11th c./9th c., Vios Philaret. 81-2

ἴνα ... λάβω τινὰν παραμυθίαν τῆς λύπτης 11th c./9th c., Vios Philaret. 100-1

τινὲς ἀλλογενεῖς τές χῶρες του κρουσεύοντι 16th c./14th-15th c., Achil. O 120

διατὶ τινές εύρισκουνται νὰ λέγουν ἀλλα καὶ ἄλλα 15th c., LIMEN., Than. Rod. 256

εἶχαν τινὰν δουλευτὴν 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 30.7

ἐγύρευγεν τινὰν ἐμπιστὸν ἄνθρωπον νὰ τοῦ τὸ δώσῃ νὰ τῆς τὸ πάρη 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 408. 3-5

ρίκτει σπίτια ἀρχοντικὰ καὶ ἄλλων πτωχῶν τινάδων 16th c., SKLAVOS, Symf. 21-2

τινὲς ἰδιῶτες ἐλεγαν δένδρον τοῦ ἡλίου τὸ ἔνα καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ἐλεγαν δένδρον τοῦ
φεγγαρίου 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 335.21-2

ἥτονε τινάς ἀφέντης καὶ ἐβασίλευεν ἐκεῖ 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, Klini 42.1-2

Negative/Affective

ὁ κῦρ Λούκας νὰ τὸ παραδώσῃ πρὸς τὸν Ἀνδρέαν χωρὶς λόγου τινὸς η προφάσεως
1446, Chios, MANOUSAKAS 1960: 271.13-14

- ἀν ἔναι τινάς ὅπού δὲν σὲ ἀκούει ή νὰ ποιῇ ἀταξίας
15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 100.5
- ἀν ἔν' καὶ ίδης πτωχὸν τινάν καὶ στάμενα νὰ μὴ ἔχῃ
16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apocr.* 2353
- ἔναι δύσκολον τινάς νὰ τὸ πιστεύσῃ
16th c./15th c., DELLAP., *Erot. apocr.* 1685
- διὰ τοῦτο δὲν ἔχω τινάν ἀγκαρδιακόν εἰς τὰ πράματά μου παρὰ ἐσέναν
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR. *Chron.*, A 48.5
- ἴφη πρὸς αὐτήν «Ἐχεις μάρτυράς τινας;»
15th–16th c., *Porikol.* I 41–2
- εἰ εἶναι τινάς ράπτης καὶ παίρνει ραπτικά ἀπὸ καλογέρους
1532, Macedonia, DELIALIS 1969: 251.70
- ἀν ὑπάγῃ τινάς ἀποκρισάρης νὰ φιλήσῃ χέρι, νὰ πιάνουσι οἱ καπικῆδες τὰ δύο του χέρια καὶ ἀπὸ κεῖ νὰ τὸ φιλήσῃ
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 27.34–5
- ὁ ἀδελφός σου ὁ Μουσουλμάνος κάμει πράματα, δποὺ δὲν πρέπει νὰ τὰ κάνῃ τινάς βασιλέας
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 45.7–8
- δύνεται τινάς ἄνθρωπος νὰ πήγη δλην τὴν θάλασσαν;
17th c., *Vios Aisop.* I 267.23

In many vernacular texts from ca. 12th c. onwards τινάς appears exclusively as a singular form in negative/affective environments with the meaning “any(one)”. In the specific case of negated sentences, AG τις = “any(one)” is required to fall within the scope of sentence negation, i.e. to the right of the negative marker (to the left τις = “some(one) [...] not [...]”); by contrast, LMedG/EMG τινάς in the relevant texts always means “any” whether it precedes or follows the negative marker (i.e. the equivalent of *anyone did not ... is grammatical with the meaning “no one did ... ”).

Pronominal use of τινάς is more common than use as an indefinite determiner.

τινάς before a Negative Marker

- κακός ἔχθρος ή φυλακή ... μεσίτην οὐ προσδέχεται, φίλον τινάς οὐκ ἔχει
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 239–40
- ποτὲ τινάς οὐκ ἤκουσεν οὐδὲ εἶδε τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 369
- ἄλλον τινάν φοβερισμὸν ποσῶς οὐδὲν σᾶς λέγει
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1373
- κάλλος τινάν οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, οὐ πλοῦτος, οὐδὲ ἀνδρεία
15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., *Achil. N* 1916
- ἐσύ τινάν ποσῶς οὐδὲν φοβᾶσαι
15th c., *LIMEN. Than. Rod.* 206
- τινάς ἄνθρωπος δὲν τὴν οἶδεν
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 401.9
- τινάς δὲν τὴν ἐγνώρισε
18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot. II* 1500
- ἄνθρωπον τινάν δὲν ἔβλέπανε
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 111.22–3
- ὅλα τὰ ξυνά εἶναι ψυχρὰ καὶ δυσκολία, παύουσι τὴν δίψαν, ἀμὴ θροφὴν τινάς δὲν δίδουσι
17th c., LANDOS, *Gepon.* 214.12

Εἰς/ἔνας

The numeral εἰς/ἔνας “one” is increasingly used as an indefinite article to replace the corresponding singular forms of τις/τινάς, mainly in positive environments; in negative

environments, however, it may not precede the negative marker and the strengthened form κανεὶς/κανένας is used in this role (see below).

Postnominal positioning is an option only in the oldest texts; otherwise this element almost always precedes the head noun (as expected of numerals).

- ὅμως οὐκ ἐν γωνίᾳ μιᾶς εἴτε εἰς μικράν τινα πόλιν καὶ οὐδαμινὴν γενομένη
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4, 226.3–5

ἀπάνω εἰς τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ πύργου ἡτον μία γάτα καὶ κάτω εἰς τὸ θεμέλιον ἔνας ποντικός
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 89, 76.1

- εύρεθη ἔδω ... ὥσταν ἔναν πουλὶν εἰς τὸν κάμπον
1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 11, 68.2–3

τὸ ψῆλος τοῦ νεροῦ ἔχει στημάδιν ἔναν καρφὸν εἰς τὸν Ἀγιον Γεώργιον τῶν Ὁρνιθίων
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 60.24

ἀρχεύγει ἔναν ἔργον
15th–16th c., FIOR 73.5

- ἡτον ἔνας ὀνόματι Μιχαὴλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς
1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3–4

σ' ἔνα περβόλι εύρισκομου, 's μιὰ τάβλα μαρμαρένια μὲ φαγητὰ πολλὰ λογιῶν πιτήδεια ὀρδινιασμένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, KATZ. III.545–6

ἔτοι κι ἔκεινη γεῖς καιρὸς θέλει τὴνε μερώσῃ
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, PANOR. I.139

ἔτοτες ἐφάνηκε ἔνας καβαλάρης
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 19.1–2

(Ο)κάτις/(δ)κάποιος

The positive indefinite pronouns/determiners (δ)κάτις/(δ)κάποιος “some(one)” are widely used in vernacular texts throughout the period of this Grammar to replace the corresponding uses of τις, both singular and plural; in the singular the meaning may often be very close to that of an indefinite article, as expected.

The two forms are functionally equivalent, and almost always precede the head noun when used as indefinite determiners.

The neuter form (ό)κάτι is sometimes used as an indeclinable positive indefinite specifier with nouns of any gender or number.

Despite the convention of printing the prefix δ- with a rough breathing, this may have originated as the negative οὐ- (also attested, again printed with a rough breathing) with a shift of meaning in the period before ca. AD 1000 from “not any (random) X” to “some (particular) X”. Prefixless forms become the norm towards the end of the period of this Grammar.

(ό)κάτις

ἔταν γίνεται ... δτι ὁκάτινες ἄνθρωποι, οὐ ὁκάτινες γυναῖκες παίρνει οὐ κλέπτει τὰς ὅρνιθάς μου
15th c./13th c., ASSIZES B 450.23

ἔλεγε γάρ δ βασιλεύς δτι ὁκάτις δήγας ἥλθεν
15th c./14th c., POL. TR. 2765 app. crit. (A)

ὁκάτις βασιλεύς ... πολλὰ πράγματα ἔποικεν
16th c./14th c., CHRON. MOR. P 882

ὁκάτι ψιθυρίσματα λαλεῖ καθ' ἐαυτοῦ τῆς
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], KALLIM. 1164

διν ἔναι κάτις εὐγενικός καὶ ἔχει τὸ κάλλος ἔμορφον	15th c./14th–15th c., Achil. L 192
οὐτως τάχα ἔκαμαν δικάτι ψευδογάππη	15th c., Chron. Toc. 1979
δικάτι φράγκος ἀνθρωπος ... ήλθεν ἀπό τὴν Πούλια	15th c., Chron. Toc. 3548–53
πείτε της δικάτι καταλόγι	15th c., LIMEN., Than. Rod. 36
ήρθε δικάτις ἀδελφός	15th c., ?Athos, VASMER 1922: 180
δικάτιν μέγαν εὐγενῆ ... τὸν ἐσφαξεν Ἰάκωβος 16th c./15th c., DELLAP., Erot. apocr. 560–2	16th c./15th c., DELLAP., Erot. apocr. 662
ἄν ἔχω δικάτι ύπομονὴν τώρα εἰς τὴν θλῖψιν τούτην	
καὶ γροικῶντα κάτινες καβαλλάριδες πιστοὶ τοῦ ρηγός	16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 42.33–4
δικάτι λόγος μοῦ ἐσέβη εἰς τὰ ὄντα	16th c., Diig. Alex. F 210.19 (Lolos)
ἔσπειρε στὸ χωράφι τῆς διάνοιας κατινῶν παρανόμων κάποιαν πρόφασιν	16th c., Pist. kekoim. 55
ἐπούλησε τὸ Σάλονα ... εἰς κάτι Φραγγοπαπάδες	18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 40.17–19
(ό)κάποιος	
δικάποιας καν γειτόνισσας ροῦχον νὰ ἐπαρελύθην	14th c./12th c., Ptoch. III 162
δικάποιος βασιλέας ... πολλὰ πράγματα ἔποικε	14th c., Chron. Mor. H 882
ούκαποια τραγούδια ἐτραγουδοῦσαν	16th c., Diig. Alex. F 38.9 (Konstantinopoulos)
ἔστοντας καὶ νά χεν κάποια χωράφια καὶ ἄλλα πράματα πουλημένα	1605, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 344, 323.2
ἔστοντας καὶ νά ἤθελεν ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν μὲ τὴν ἀδελφήν τως εἰς κάποια πράγματα	1616, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1968: 2, 28.10
τὴν δόποιαν διήγησιν μοῦ εἴπασιν κάποιοι ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπό τὴν μέσαν χώραν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας	17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ios. 30.17–8

Κανεὶς/κανένας

The negative/affective indefinite pronoun/determiner κανεὶς/κανένας “any(one)” is widely used in vernacular texts to replace the corresponding uses of τις/τινάς, but in the singular only; its meaning may often be very close to that of an indefinite article.

The neuter form τίποτες may, however, be used in later texts as an indeclinable negative/affective indefinite modifier with nouns of any gender or number.

These elements almost always precede their head nouns when used as indefinite determiners (a role in which κανένας is more usual, though κανεὶς is also attested).

Κανεὶς/κανένας may again precede or follow the negative marker in negative sentences with the same (negative/affective) meaning in both positions.

κανεὶς/κανένας

... εἰς μαρτυρίαν κανενοῦ πραγμάτου	15th c./?13th c., Assizes B 334.25
εὶς καὶ ἔλθῃ ἀπό τὸν τόπον του κανεὶς ἀνθρωπος	1355, Palatia (Militos), MANOUSAKAS 1962b: 1, 234.12

φόβον κανέναν ἀπό σὲν νὰ μὴ ἔχω νὰ μὲ ἀφήσης	15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 414 app. crit. (ABEX)
πούποτε οὐκ ἡκουσθηκεν οἱ Τοῦρκοι νὰ βοηθήσουν κανεὶν ἀφέντην χριστιανόν, εἰ μὴ νὰ τὸν κομπώνουν	15th c., Chron. Toc. 498–9
δὲν ἔγινη ἀφορμὴ κανενοῦ κακοῦ	16th c., Pist. kekoim. 376
κιαμιᾶς λογῆς ἀνάπαψη δὲν ηὔρισκεν ἡ κόρη	18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, Erot. III.14
εἰσὲ κανέναν γκαιρὸν ἀ(ν) χαθοῦσιν ἀπό καμμιᾶς λογῆς ἀφορμήν, τινάς δὲ σοῦ ἀπηλογᾶται	1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 761, 1033.1
... χωρὶς νὰ ἀπαντέξῃ καμίαν ἄλλην ἀπόκρισην	18th c., Don Kis. 50.13
τίποτες(ς)	
έὰν τις τῶν αὐτόθι ... λέγει τίποτες	12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 9 151.1–2
οὐδὲν εἶχεν τίποτες ἔνδειξιν	15th c./13th c., Assizes B 361.19
τίποτες πόλεμος οὐδὲν ἔνα	16th c., Diig. Alex. F 30.23–4 (Konstantinopoulos)
παρὰ γιὰ νά βρω τίβετοι τρόπο νὰ σοῦ βουηθήσω	17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Erot. I.114
ἔχεις τίποτες εὐλογίαν ...;	17th c., Cyprus, CHRISTODOULOU 1983: A, 401.27
ἀπομένουσι τὰ τίποτές της ἀδιόρθωτα	
έχω τίβετις πρᾶγμα τῆς Μαρί(ας)	1629, Milos, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 14, 10.7
άν ίχρεωστοῦσαν τίποτις ροῦχα μιᾶς τῆς ἄλλης	1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.140
έγω θέλω ἔχει τὴν ἔγνοιαν νὰ σὲ στέλνω τίποτε φαγητόν	1664, Mykonos, TOURTOGLOU 1980/81: 3, 20.14–15
NOTE	18th c., Don Kis. 144.22
(i) There are a few, relatively early, examples where κανεὶς/κανένας is used to mean simply “one” (or sometimes “a(n)”), apparently independently of whether the context is positive or negative/affective; this is perhaps a residual reflection of a still earlier state of affairs in which κανεὶς/κανένας was no more than a strengthened form of εἰς/ἔνας (replacing τις/τινάς) in a period before its use came to be polarized through opposition with the positive (ό)κάτις/(ό)κάποιος:	
άς τὸν δοκιμάσωμεν κανεὶς ἀπό τοὺς τρεῖς μας	15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 1217 app. crit.
ἀπέτις ἀπεξέβηκαν κανέναν μίλι, δύο	15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 1411
έὰν ἔνι δι τι εῖς ὁρφανός ἢ ὁρφανή, ἢ κανέναν παιδίν	16th c./?13th c., Assizes A 29.26
άς τοὺς ἀφήσουμε δλιγόν, κανέναν μῆναν πλέον	14th c., Chron. Mor. H 611
Oὐδεὶς/οὐδένας	
In preverbal positions the AG pronoun/determiner οὐδεὶς is an inherently negative quantifier (“no(one)”) used without a following negative marker; in postverbal positions, however,	

it is normally used as a strong negative/affective indefinite after a negative marker, i.e. as an emphatic alternative to negative/affective τις (= "not ... ANY(one)").

Οὐδεὶς/οὐδένας persists into LMedG/EMG alongside κανεὶς/κανένας, with its role still determined by its position and the presence/absence of a negative marker. Its use is normally associated with rather higher registers, and it may be misused in more vernacular texts because of the influence of κανεὶς/κανένας, which requires a negative marker whatever its position in a negative sentence. Μηδεὶς/μηδένας is sometimes used in place of οὐδεὶς/οὐδένας, particularly when the verb is in the subjunctive.

Non-traditional Usage

οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔνι ἀπ' ἐμάς εἰς ὅλον τὸ φουσσάτον

15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 7967

οὐδενενοῦ βασιλέως οὐδὲν ἔφαλτσωσάμεν

16th c., *Diig. Alex.* K 346.24-5

Standard Usage

οὐδεὶς ἄνθρωπος ἔμεινεν μέσα τοῦ κάστρου

15th c./13th-14th c., *Liv. E* 2340

μηδένας τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποὺ σᾶς ... ἀφοραθῇ τοῦτον

16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 389

... δὲν ἔχω μηδεμιὰ γαζέτα στὴν ἔξιά μου

17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSIKIS, Katz.* II.194

οὐδένα πρᾶμα ἔκαμα

17th c./16th c., *CHORTATSIKIS, Katz.* II.357

μηδεὶς οὐν τῶν σοφῶν καταφρονήσῃ τῆς ἀμαθείας μου 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 29.6
μὰ μηδένας ἄλλος καραβοκύρης μοῦ τὸ πιστεύγη πῶς

1648, Corfu (author from Crete), Manousakas 1965: 268.9

NOTES

- (i) The normal position of an attributive adjective in an indefinite NP is before the head noun, but the adjective may also follow (without specifiers) if the meaning is essentially predicative and not crucial to distinguishing one class of possible referents from another; in such cases the meaning is typically focal (i.e. "an X [that is] *ADJ*"): πλάσματα πάλιν μυθικὰ καὶ λόγους γραΐδιων ἡκριβωσάμην

13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 4-5

τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐγίνετον σεισμὸς μέγας εἰς ὅλην τὴν Λευκωσίαν

1479, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 6, 89.1-2

- (ii) The normal position for genitives within an indefinite NP is postnominal, but these may be preposed for contrast or emphasis in the usual way:

ἔσυρνε μαζὶ του 4000 καβελλάρους, ... πληρωμένους δύων χρονῶν πληρωμή

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 29.29-30

5.3.2.3 Demonstratives

- (77) LMedG/EMG demonstratives are used both as pronouns (as heads of NPs) and as determiners (in NPs with independent head nouns) and have both deictic and anaphoric functions; as determiners they appear in definite NPs, standing either before the definite article or after the head noun.

The demonstratives of LMedG/EMG fall into two groups according to the (notional) distance from the speaker of the objects/individuals they are used to identify, namely proximal ("this") and distal ("that"); there is no clear evidence of a further division within the proximal group between 1st- and 2nd-person orientation. While both types are also used anaphorically ("the one just mentioned"), only the former is additionally employed cataphorically ("the following"):

"this"

αὐτός, αὗτος, εὔτός, (ἐ)δαῦτος

αὐτεῖνος, αὐτοῦνος, αὐτόνος

οὗτος, (ἐ)τοῦτος, (ἐ)δετοῦτος

ὅδε (mostly archaic/official, and often cataphoric in legal texts; mainly neuter)

*ἔτοῦνος (only oxytone genitive forms found)

"that"

ἐκεῖνος, (ἐ)δεκεῖνος (rare)

(ἐ)κεῖός

The postnominal position for demonstratives is less emphatic than the pre-article position and is often, though not always, associated with anaphoric function; NP-initial demonstratives, however, are as likely to be anaphoric as deictic (with the latter probably carrying heavier stress).

NP-Initial

ἀπ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ποιεῖ αὐτὴν ἐλευθέρην καὶ οὐκ ἔχει ἔξουσίαν εἰς αὐτὴν
ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 234.274-5

ἀνήρ τις ... ἀνήγειρε τε ἐκ βάθρ(ων) αὐτ(ὸν) τ(ὸν) ναὸν ἐξ οἰκεί(ων) κόπ(ων) κ(αὶ)
ἀναλωμ(ά)τ(ων)

1365, Serres, LEFORT 1973: 27, 162.9

ἀπ' αὐτην τὴν ἐνθύμησιν καὶ ἐκ τὴν πολλὴν πικρίαν ἔπεσεν εἰς ἀσθένειαν, ἀπόθανεν
εὔθεως

15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 3172-3

εἶχεν δὲ καὶ δ πρῶτος τούτην τὴν συνήθει(αν)

1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: 6, 103.23

εἰς τὴν Καψοράχη ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους διποῦ οἱ καλογέροι τοῦ μοναστ(η)ρ(ίου)
ἐπιάσαν

1572, Andros, POLEMIS 1995a: 8, 129.9

πῶς εύρεθης εἰς τοῦτο τὸ ταπεινὸν σπίτιν ἐτουνῆς τῆς γυναικός

17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 67.33

Postnominal

οἱ νηστεῖαις ταύταις (nom. pl.) ... ἐπιτρέπονται εἰς τοὺς χριστιανούς
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4 214.1-3

το δένδρον ἐκεῖνον

1146, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XIV: 5, 618.30

ἐντὸς τοῦ τέρμενου ἐκείνου ποῦ ἔστησε ὁ Καμπανέστης

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2118

ἀφότου ἔσυ ἀποδέχεσαι νὰ εἰσαι ἀβοκάτος διὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτὴν τῆς ντάμα

Μαργαρίτας

14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7528-9

- τὰς ἀμοιβάς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν κόπων ἔκείνων νῦν λαμβάνετε
16th c., GLYKYS, *Penth. Than.* 606
- ἔδούλευσα τοὺς ἀδυνάτους καὶ τὰ κελιά ἐτούτα χρόνους κε'
16th c., Corfu, KARYDIS/TZIVARA 1994/96: 4, 102.19

NOTES

- (i) Certain other determiners also have secondary anaphoric functions, most importantly τοιούτος/τέτοιος "such". These are often used in indefinite NPs ("such [an] X") where they stand before the head, initially in a sequence of adjectival modifiers and normally without an indefinite article in singular NPs (though one is sometimes introduced in later texts):

- τοιούτον κρίσιμον μέλλει νὰ κριθῇ 15th c./?13th c., *Assizes B* 376.11
- τέτοιον σκοπὸν ἔχειρισεν νὰ παίζῃ τὸ καλάμιν 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 216
- οὐδὲ εἶδεν τὸ οὐδὲ ήκουσεν τέτιον πρᾶγμα νὰ γένει 15th c., *Anon. Naupl.* 52
- οὐ θέλομεν τέτοιες μυθολογίες 16th c., *Fyll. gadar.* 259
- ἐπιθυμῶντας νὰ διορθώσω τέτιον ἀπρεπὲς πρᾶγμα 1693, Corfu, TSITSAS 1978/79: [2], 209.158

ῷ τί μεγάλο κρῆμα, ἔνας τοιοῦτος βασιλεὺς νὰ ἔμπη μὲς στὸ μνῆμα
18th c./17th c., *Dīg. Vēfa* 125

ἔγὼ κάμνει χρεία νὰ βάλω ὅλην μου τὴν δύναμην διὰ νὰ ἀποβάλω μίαν τοιαύτην
ὑβρην
18th c., *Don Kis.* 49.20-1

Given the functional overlap with anaphoric demonstratives, however, these items also appear in definite NPs, though they retain their adjectival position, standing between the article and noun; the definite construction is particularly common in earlier texts and with τοιοῦτος:

ἐπέδειξαν ἡμῖν γεγραμμένον ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτον μυλοστάσιον ὀγύρακε αὐτὸ
1123, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. X: 1, 471.13

ώς δὲ τὸ τίτιον μήνυμαν ἥλθεν εἰς τὸν κρατοῦντα ?12th c. or 13th–14th c., *Eisit. f.7v.1*
εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ὑπόθεσιν ἔχομεν καὶ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας
1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.51-2

ἐπειν τοῦ ἐφάνηκεν καλὸν εἰς τὸν ἐτέτοιον τρόπον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 3589

θέλοντας γάρ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προειρημ(έ)ν(η) κυρὰ Ζαμπέτ(α) ποιῆσαι ἀνταμοιβὴν
τῶν τ[οι]ιούτων χαρίτων
1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 12, 48.10

τές τοιούτες γνώμες καὶ τὰ ἥθη ὅποι εἶναι ἐπίβουλα καὶ δχι ἀπλὰ πρέπει νὰ τὰ
φεύγομεν
?17th c./16th–17th c., *Theophr. Char.* 120.6

- (ii) Relative pronouns such as δ (δ)ποῖος, δστις/δτις, δσπερ are similarly used as anaphoric pronouns/determiners linking clauses/sentences:

νομίσματα ἔκατόν τριακοντάδυ, ἄπερ νομίσματα ... παρὰ διαφόρων προσώπων
ἔδανεισάμην
1024, Athos, LEMERLE et al. 1970: 25, 175.14

τές συμφωνίες ὅπου εἶδαμεν ἐνταῦτα: στές ὅποιες ἔνι ἡ βοῦλλα του καὶ ἐμᾶς ὄλῶν
μετ' αὐτοῦ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2380-1

ἀνεντρανίζω καὶ θωρᾶ θρονίν τὸ πλουσιμένον, τὸ ποῖον θρονίν καθέζεται ντοῦζες
τῆς Βενετίας
15th c., *Dīg. Ven.* 41-2

τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῆς γυναίκας του εἶχεν την ἔνας παχιάς οἱ ποῖες ἡτον Κατακούζηνές
εἰσὶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ κυρ Κωνστάντιου μοναχοῦ
16th c./15th c., *Voustr.*, *Chron. A* 132.18

ἀφῆμι τῷ εἰρημένῳ μοναστηρίῳ καὶ μελίττας σώματα <κε> ... αἵτινες μελίττες
εἰσὶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ κυρ Κωνστάντιου μοναχοῦ
1512, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 34, 59.13-14

Βιβλίον τοῦ ὁγίου καὶ δικαίου Λαζάρου ὁ ὅποιος Λάζαρος ἔκαμε τέσσαρες ἡμέρες
εἰς τὸν "Ἄδην"
1565-75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1

γιὰ τὸ ὅποιο στάρι τὸ ἄνωθεν ὀπλεγάρουνται οἱ ἄνωθεν ἀξαδέλφοι καὶ ἀπομένου
ἔγγυητάδες ἔνας τοῦ ἀλλοῦ των
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 64, 84.14-15

ἔδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Καραλούκη καὶ ἐπῆρε του τὴν ἀφεντία τῆς Σουμάκιας ὁ
ὅποιος Καραλούκης εἶχε φουσσάτο
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.36-31.1

5.3.3 Relative Clauses

- (78) A relative clause may be used as a restrictive modifier of any NP in order to help identify a particular referent (when the head is singular) or particular subset of referents (when the head is plural).

A restrictive relative clause delimits the potential referent(s) of a NP, cf. *the woman that fell* (as opposed to all those who did not), *the students who worked hard* (as opposed to all those who did not), etc.

In LMedG/EMG a restrictive relative clause may be introduced by the relative pronoun ὅ (more formal/literary) or by the definite article (more vernacular), both of which provide an anaphoric link to the antecedent NP. More frequently, the clause is structurally linked to its antecedent by the complementizer ὅπου/ὅπού/πού (often ἀπού in Crete and Cyprus), an element that doubtless came to be interpreted as fulfilling a similar anaphoric role.

The pronouns ὅ (δ)ποῖος, ὅστις/ὅτις and ὅσπερ are employed comparatively rarely in restrictive relatives, mostly in archaizing/literary and official/legal registers. Neuter ὅ, τι, however, is a strong survivor in vernacular LMedG/EMG in its original sense of "whatever" (see below on headless relatives), while neuter ὅπερ and ὅπερ, reanalysed as indeclinable complementizers on the model of ὅπου/ὅπού/πού, appear frequently with antecedents of any number and gender (sometimes in combination with the definite article in formal/legal texts, especially in early documents from S. Italy; this usually agrees in case with the antecedent, see immediately below).

It is comparatively rare for any of these items to carry grammatical functions within a restrictive relative clause other than subject and direct object; as object of a preposition, or when cases other than the nominative and accusative are required, (δ)ποῖος is used most often.

The article and the various relative pronouns are fully declinable, agreeing with their head nouns in number and gender, and in principle taking the case associated with their grammatical function within the relative clause (mostly nominative/subject and accusative/direct object). But a relative clause introduced by the definite article is an appositional constituent (i.e. of the form *the thing + the (thing) someone did*) in which the article replicates the case of the antecedent regardless of its grammatical function within the relative clause; to eliminate any potential difficulties, this construction is normally limited to situations in which both antecedent and article would be assigned the same case within their own clauses, making the case agreement required by their appositional relationship unproblematical. The relative pronouns ὃς and ὅσπερ, however, also regularly agree with ("are attracted to") their antecedents in case, if the case requirements of the main clause and the relative clause differ; by contrast, (ό) (ό)ποιος shows almost no evidence of attraction and ὅστις/ὅτις very little. Case-agreeing relative pronouns are italicized in the excerpts below.

ὅς (mainly early and literary; case attraction to antecedent when there is conflict)

ἔξορισαν τοὺς βελλάνους ἀπὸ τοῦ Φωκαιροῦ οὓς ἔκατοίκουν εἰς τὴν χώραν
?1130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 534.18

ἡλευθέρωνεν ἀπαντας οὓς εἶχεν αἰχμαλώτους
13th–14th c./?12th c., Dig. G II.5

οὐκέτι τούτων ἔνεκεν δάκνεται τὴν καρδίαν, πάντων ἐπιλαθόμενος ὃν εἶχεν ἐν τῷ
βίῳ
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 107–8

σκότος δὲ πάλιν ἀφεγγές τὸν σκοτασμόν μου κρίνω ὃν ἔχω τότε, βασιλεῦ, δταν
ψωμὶν οὐκ ἔχω
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. III 234

ἀφήκαμεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὃν ηὔραμεν ἔκεισε
15th c./13th–14th c., Liv. V 2842

πῶς παραβλέπει τὸν κριτήν, τὴν φοβεράν ἡμέραν ἥν μέλλει γάρ παρίστασθαι τρόμῳ
πολλῷ καὶ φόβῳ
15th–16th c./15th c., Alfav. 14 69

ἔστειλά σοι καὶ τὴν γραφὴν ἥν μοι ἐπαρέδωκεν δ τῆς Γένουβας φίλος μου
1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 12, 71.2–3

τὰ πράγματα ἂ μοι ἐπῆρεν κουρφά ἡ Παντοσυλία
1506, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 1, 3.10

εἰπὲ ἡμῖν παραβολὰς ἃς οὔτε ἡκούσαμεν οὔτε ἤξεύρομεν
17th c., Vios Aisop. D 240.17

Definite Article (vernacular; almost always direct object)

τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν σὲ ἐπεμψα μὲ τὸν Θεόδωρον
12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 9 314.15

εὶ μὲν τὸν θέλεις κακοποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν παρακοὴν τὴν ποιεῖ
πρὸς τὴν ἀγίαν σου βασιλείαν
?1130–40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 535.9–11

οὐκ ἐγνωρίζεις, δέσποτα, τὸν Πρόδρομον τὸν ἔχεις
15th c./12th c., Ptoch. (Maiuri) 42

ἔχαρισαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου ... τὸ κοπέλι τὸ ἔχει εἰς τὴν δούλεψή του ἀπὸ τὸ<ν> χωρὶς
μας τῆς Θεμούρφου
1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULOS 1983: 72, 36.1–3

ἐπρουμούστασεν τοῦ μεγάλου μαστόρου νὰ κρατήσῃ κρυφὰ πᾶσα πρᾶμαν τὸ νὰ
τοῦ ποίουσιν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 12.5–7

τὸν Δημήτρην ... τὸν δουλευφτήν μας ποίουτε τὸ καλλίττερον τὸ νὰ μπορήσῃς ...,
καὶ πᾶσα χρῆσιν τὴν ἔχει μὲ(ν) τοῦ τὸ κρατήσης

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 412.11–14

τὸ κελίον ... μὲ τὴν περιοχὴν του ἥγουν μὲ τὰς ἑλαίας καὶ μὲ τὸ νερὸν τὸ ἥφερεν
ἔκεινος δι Δανιήλ δι Βούλγαρης
1501, Athos, PAVLIKIANOV 2006: VII, 105.2–3

ἀπὸ ἔκει μίλια γ' εύρισκεις τὸ ἀκρωτήριν τὸ λέγουν "Αρπην"
1534, Unknown, TSELIKAS/KOROMILA 2003: A, 53.20

δπου/δπού/πού (standard vernacular option)

ἄν μὲ ἔποισαν τεχνίτην, ἀπ' αὐτοὺς ὅπού κάμνουσιν τὰ κλαπωτὰ καὶ ζῶσιν, νὰ
ἔμαθα τέχνην κλαπωτὴν καὶ νὰ ἔζουν ἀπ' ἔκεινην
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. III 89–91

θωρεῖς αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγουρον ποὺ στέκει εἰς τὸ λιθάριν
15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 1507

εἴπε τον διὰ τὶποτε λογάριν δπου νὰ χρήζῃ, μετ' αὐτὸ φουσσάτα νὰ ρογέψῃ
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4563–4

παρακαλῶ κι δρίζω σε ... τὸν τόπον ὅπου ἐκέρδισα ἔδω εἰς τὸν Μορέαν νὰ
παραλάβης καὶ κρατής, διὰ ἐμὲν νὰ τὸν φυλάττης
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1874–6

τὰ δὲ λοιπά ἐκατόν δουκάτα τὸν μῆνα ... νὰ ἔξοδιάζωνται εἰς τινὰς ἄρχοντας καὶ
καλὰ πρόσωπα ὅπού νὰ είναι κοντά των
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.6–9

τ' ἀμπέλιν ποὺ ἐγόρασα
(1528, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 113, 224.40)

ἥθισαν καὶ οἱ βοσκοὶ δπού ἔβοσκαν τὰ πρόβατα ἔκει τὸ γύρο καὶ λέγουν ὅτι ἡμεῖς
εἰδαμεν πλῆθος ἀγγέλων ὅπού εύχαριστοῦσαν τὸν Θεόν
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 331.28–31

ἔγραφα τῆς πανιερότη σου ... τὰ βάσανα δπού ἥρθε καὶ ἔκαμέν τση ὁ καλὸς
καλόγερος
1610, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 3, 169.6–7

αὐτὸ σὲ τὸ εἴπα ... ἀπὸ τὴν πρώτην βαλανιδιάν δπού νὰ εύρω, νὰ κόψω καὶ ἔγω
ἔνα μεγάλο κλαδί
18th c., Don Kis. 46.36–47.1–2

ἀπού (in texts from Crete/Cyprus)

ἔλα εἰς αὐτόν μου, κ' ἔγω νὰ σοῦ δώσω θησαυρὸν ἀπού νὰ μὲν σὲ λείψῃ
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 62.33–4

μὲ καιρὸν φτάνει εἰς τὴν χώραν ἔκεινη ἀπού ἥτονε δ ἄρχων ἀπού τὴν ηὔρεν εἰς τὴν
έρημίαν ... καὶ, δδιὰ τὸ κρίμα ἀπού ἥκαμεν, τοῦ ἥδωκεν δ Θεός μίαν λέπραν
17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, Klini 56.18–21

μιὰ ψυχὴ ἀπού εύρισκεται τοῦ πόθου ἀρρωστημένη, σφαίνει τοὶ πλιάτερες φορὲς
καὶ μένει κομπωμένη
17th c., TROILOS, Rodol. IV.163–4

(ό) (ό)ποιος (restrictive use limited, mainly formal/legal; no case attraction)

όμοιώς καὶ τὴν ποσότην ἡ ποία ύπάρχει ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κράτει
1257, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 33, 457.17

ἔκεινος δι ἔκεινη τοῦ ποιοῦ ἔνι ἐγγυητής
16th c./?13th c., Assizes A 70.10

ἔξω ἀπὸ τὰ ιδ' μιζούρια τὸ κριθάριν τὰ ποία τοῦ θελει δ Μαυρομάτης
1327, Crete, LAIOU 1982: 1, 123.6

- τὰ πράγμα(ατα) ὅποι(α) θέλομεν π(α)ραλάβει 1398, Corfu, ASONITIS 1993: 1 [A'], 19.14
- ξέβασταινε σκουτάρι στὸ ὅποιον τὰ βασιλεία τοῦ Νερέου ἐφαινέτον 15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* VI.48,2 (Olsen)
- τὴν ύποταγήν παιδικήν εἰς τὴν ποίαν ξως τώρα ἔμεν ύποτάσσεσθε 1446, Crete, MANOUSAKAS 1964: 17, 98.4
- φλωρία χρυσᾶς ὅποια ἔδωσα 1473, Corfu, KONIDARIS/RODOLAKIS 1996: 57, 177.8–9
- περὶ τινὰ κάστρη καὶ τόπους τὰ ὅποια ἐπῆρε ὁ σκλάβος μου 1480, Constantinople, BOMBACI 1954: 9, 313.8
- περὶ τὸν σκλάβον σου ... τὸν ποῖον ἤκουσεν ἡ αὐθεντία σου 1487, Rhodes, LEFORT 1981: 10, 65.3
- εἴπασιν Μαστόρου πρᾶμαν τὸ ποῖον δὲν τοῦ ἄρεσεν 16th c., ACHELIS, *Malt. Pol.* 2133
- ὑπέρπυρα ἔξηντα τὰ ὅπγια εἶναι ρέστος 1623, Crete, XANTHOUDIDIS 1912: 47, 126.6
- NOTE**
- (i) In some cases where the article is absent the ancient meaning “such as” may be intended:
- διαφυλασσόντων τὰς πατρικὰς ἡμῶν ... παραδόσεις ὅποιας παρελάβομεν παρά τε τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν ἐπτὰ ἀγίλων συνόδων 13th c., Constantinople, DARROUZÈS/LAURENT 1976: 1, 191.4–5, 13 C
- δοτις/ὅτις (rare in restrictive use, mainly formal/legal; little case attraction)
- ἐνάντιον τοῦ σιγλλίου τῆς ἐλευθέρας χρυσοβούλης οὔτινος ἐποιήσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ μακαριώτατος κόμης Ῥογέριος 1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 21, 422.14
- πᾶς δοτις ἐτύγχανεν εἰς τὴν χαράν ἐκείνην 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G* IV.836
- τὰς παρούσας γραφάς αἵτινες ἀνάγονται εἰς τὴν ἀντίληψίν σου 1487, Chios, LEFORT 1981: 12, 71.3–4
- περὶ τῶν βελανιδίων ὅπινα ὑπῆρχον ὀγορασμένα μὲν σολδάτα τοῦ εἰρημένου Σβηροῦ 1606, Nauplion, BROUSKARI 1982: 1, 174.16
- δοτιερ (formal/legal and literary; case attraction to antecedent when there is conflict)
- τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπάλλαξον σοφῶν μηχανημάτων ὥπερ κατεῖπον ἀνωθεν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 661–2
- εἰς τὸ τῆς Καλαμαρίας θέμα περὶ τὴν τοποθεσίαν ἥπερ οὔτω πως τοῦ Διαβολοκάμπου ἐπονομάζεται 1324, Thessaloniki, LEFORT et al. 1994: 80, 284.3
- διὰ νὰ ἀπανταίη τοὺς πολλοὺς κόλπους οὕτιερ ἐκροῦαν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 10306
- τὸν τόπον ὅντερ εἰχασιν συνήθως τὸ νὰ βλέπουν 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1239
- ἐπανέστρεψα εἰς τὴν Πάτραν ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος τῆς θαλάσσης κακοῦ οὕτιερ καθ' ὁδὸν ἡμᾶς συνήντησεν 16th c./15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 146.15

- περὶ τὴν ὑπόθ(ε)σιν τ(οῦ) ὁσπιτ(ίου) οὔτερ ἔχει διαφορ(άν) μὲ τ(ὸν) κυρ Δημήτρ(ιον) 1479, Corfu, KARYDIS 2001: 11, 47.7
- τῆς ἀγάπης ἥσπερ διὰ τὴν τῶν εὔσεβῶν εὐφροσύνην καὶ παραμυθίαν ... ἐπόνησα 17th c., IOAKEIM KYPR., *Pali Prosl.* 53
- δοτιερ/ἅπερ without Article (vernacular, gender-indifferent)
- προστάσσω ... ἵνα μὴ ἔχῃς ἔξουσίαν εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην μονήν ... μηδὲ εἰς τὰ μετόχια αὐτῆς ἅπερ διεκρατήσα 1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 210.38–40
- ἥμετερον ἐρημοάμπελον ἅπερ ἔχουμεν 1201, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 253, 344.15
- τί ἔνι τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅπερ λέγεις; 1337/8, Constantinople, HUNGER et al. 1995: 109, 92.57–8
- εὐχαριστῷ τον διὰ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ ἔπαινος ἅπερ τοῦ ἐμαρτύρα 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1888–9
- ἐνταῦτα ηύρασιν ἔκει ἐγγράφως τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅπερ γράφει λεπτομερῶς, ... τὸ πῶς ὁ λίζιος ἀνθρωπος χρεωστεῖ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7569–71
- οὐδὲ τὴν τολμηρὴν καρδίαν, τὴν τόλμην ὅπερ εἶχεν 15th–16th c./15th c., *Theseid* VI.31,5 (Olsen)
- τὰ σεντούκια, ὅπερ μὲ ἀπέστειλες 16th c., *Diig. Alex. B* 155.21 (Lolos)
- εῖδα τὰς γραφάς ἅπερ ἔστειλες τοῦ κύρ Μανόλη Μυτιληναίου 1567, Venice, PATRINELIS 1992: 5, 305.3
- δοτιερ/ἅπερ with Article (rare, mainly early S. Italian; legal/formal)
- τὴν ἀλλαγὴν τὴν ἅπερ ἔχω μὲ τὸν καθ(η)γούμ(ενον) κύ(ρ)ο Κλήμ(εντα) 1060–1, S. Italy, GUILLOU 1967: 4, 58.18
- ἀπασαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπόστ(ασιν) τὴν ὅπερ κτῶμ(αι) εἰς χωρίον Κουρτζάνου 1155, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 25, 148.5
- τὴν φυτὶ(αν) τὴν ἅπερ ἔχω εἰς ἐνφύτευσιν ἐκ τὸν Νικηφόρον Τητάν(η) 1197–8, S. Italy, MERCATI et al. 1980: 42, 217.13
- ἐπούλησα τὸ χωράφι τὸ ὅπερ εἶχα 1552, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 179.3
- τὴν διαφορὰν τὴν ὅπερ ἔχουν 1569, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 1999: 28, 394.5
- NOTES**
- (i) In relative clauses containing a verb form marked with νά (often equivalent to English infinitival relatives of the type *someone to do something*), it is common for the relative marker to be omitted; νά always then stands initially:
- ἀφότου δρέγεται (ό πρίγκιπας) νά ποιήσουσιν ἀγάπην νὰ ἔνι στερέα κι ἀδόλιευτος 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 8695–6
- δὲν εἶναι τώρας κανένας νὰ κατοικῇ οὔτε εἰς τὴν Βασιλείαν τῶν Οὐρανῶν οὔτε εἰς τὴν Κόλασιν 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis (Meteoron)* 111.2–3
- γιατί ... δὲ βρίσκεται θεριό μηδεκιανένα νὰ μηδέν κλάψῃ ἀπό καρδιᾶς περίσσα λαπημένα 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Panor. I*.63–4

άκομή τὰ χωράφια τσῆ Μονολέας γὰ πᾶσι ὡς τὸ Μόλο, μουζούρια ἵ
1612, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 779, 677.37

- (ii) When the antecedent NP contains an overt universal quantifier (= "all", "every" etc.), δσος "as much/many as" may be substituted as the relative pronoun; δσος naturally imparts a quantified meaning to the antecedent even in the absence of a universal quantifier ("the X as much as ... " = "all (of) the X that ... "):

πάντα δσα ἔδωκεν δ ὁγοραστής νὰ τὰ χάσῃ 15th c./?13th c., *Assizes B* 292.2

νὰ τοὺς ἔχης πληρώσει τὴν ρόγαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν δσην χρεωστεῖ νὰ ἔχουν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5165-6

οἱ ἄρχοντες δσοι ἔχουσιν τιμάρια 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.24

ἀλιμονον, Ροδίτες μου, καλὰ παλικαράκια, καὶ ξένοι δσοι ἔχάθητε, Ρωμαῖοι καὶ
Φρογκάκια 16th c./15th c., *LIMEN.*, *Than. Rod.* 38-9

ἔδωσε πρὸς αὐτὸν δλον τὸν τόπ(ον) τὸν ἄδειον δσος ἕβρίσκετ(αι) ἐσωθεν τῶν
ἀμπελ(ιων) 1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 48, 39.4

- (iii) The relative δποιος "whoever", normally used in headless relatives (see Rule (80)), is sometimes used in the same way as δσος:

χαρά σ τσι δποιοι δάκρυα χύσου γιὰ τὴ Μαρία
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 3966

- (iv) Relative elements such as δσος "(as much) as" and οἰος "(of such a kind) as" are used with demonstrative partners to make "correlative" comparisons of the type "so much ... as ...", "of such a kind ... as ..."; in the former case, the elements are often reversed ("as much as/to the extent that X ..., this much/to that extent Y"):

τόσος/δσος
δσον εἶναι τλείονες καὶ ἐλαφρότεροι, ... τόσον θέλει εἰσθαι κάλλιον
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.1-3

δσον ἔναι ψηλότερος, τόσον τὸν τάσσει δλίγα 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 82
τέτοιος/οἰος

χαράν ποτέ, ἀγάπην ἢ φιλίαν, μὲ ἄνθρωπον οὐ μὴ ἀποκτήσω <ἐγώ> τέτοιαν οίαν
μετ' ἔσένα
15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 4266

ούτως τὸν εύρηκασι τίτοιον οίον ἡθέλαν 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 2697

(79) A relative clause may be used as a non-restrictive (appositive) modifier to add relevant information that is not specifically intended to help the hearer/reader identify the referent.

Such relative clauses are normally demarcated by a pause (reflected in writing by the use of a comma) and contain one of the relative markers also used in restrictive relative clauses (see Rule (78)); they may be used to modify NPs or complete sentences, in which case we may understand a vague antecedent, as in *the students, who (by the way) had*

worked hard, left early; she passed first time, (something) which gave her family great pleasure.

The most common relative markers/pronouns in non-restrictive relative clauses are δπου/πού (regular) and (δ) (δ)ποῖος (more formal/literary), though all options are in principle available, including the absence of any overt relativizing element in clauses containing verb forms marked with νό; (δ) (δ)ποῖος is the regular choice as object of a preposition, or when cases other than nominative and accusative are required.

Non-restrictive relative clauses introduced by δπου/πού and other indeclinable elements may include a resumptive object clitic pronoun in the relativized position, referring back to the antecedent and agreeing with it in number and gender (of the form *the man, that I saw him, ...*); this is regular when the relative clause modifies a sentence. This option also occurs, albeit more rarely, with (δ) (δ)ποῖος, mainly in later texts.

Modifying a NP

πουλῶντα τὸ ήμέτερον ἀμπέλιον, τὸ δντα καὶ διακείμενον εἰς χωρίον Καλαβρόν, τὸ
ἄπερ ἔχομεν ἐκ τὸν ἐμὸν πεθερόν 1179, S. Italy, TRINCHERA 1865: 193, 254.7-10

ώς εἰδασιν παράνομα, τὰ ποῖα ούδὲν ἐλπίζαν, εἰς θλίψιν ἐσεβήκασιν καὶ κάθουνται
καὶ κλαίουν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 88-9

ἐγώ είμαι δ Χρόνος, ἀδελφέ, τὸν ὑποτάσσει η Τύχη
14th c./13th-14th c., *Log. parig.* L 106

συναπαντῶ πραγματευτὴν ... ἄλογα γὰ ἔχη περισσά καὶ ἀνθρώπους μετ' ἐκεῖνον
καὶ γραίαν γυναίκα, ... νὰ κάθεται εἰς καμήλιν 15th c./13th-14th c., *Liv. V* 2314-16
στὸν χρόνο ἐκεῖνον καὶ καιρόν, δπου σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἔδω ... ὅταν δ δοῦκας Ἄθηνῶν ...
εύρεν ὅτι δ πρήγκιπας ἐκεῖνος δ Γυλιάμος ἐπιάστη ... καὶ ἥτον εἰς τὴν Πόλιν, ἄπερ
τὸν ἐκράτει δ βασιλέας εἰς φιλακήν του 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964-9

ἔποικαν ἀμφότεροι τὸ ἀντρόγυνον ἐκεῖνο υίόν, ... δστις γάρ μετὰ τὴν θανὴν ἐκείνου
τοῦ πατρός του ἔζησεν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7974-7

ἀπεράσαμεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, δπού δ Τούρκος ἀκόμα δὲν τὴν είχε
19th c./15th-16th c., *Chron. Theod.* 20.4-5

ἔπαρακάλεσε μας νὰ κάμωμεν τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτῆς διαθήκην καὶ τελευταίαν
παραγγελίαν, μὲ τὴν δποίαν κόφτει καὶ ἀφανίζει κάθε ἄλλην καὶ ἄλλες πού ἔχει
παρέμπροσθεν ταύτης γινωμένες 1596, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 1, 164.9

εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἥσαν δυο δένδρα, δπού τὰ λέγουν ἐμπρίονοι εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν
γλώσσαν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 335.19-20

ἐγώ, π' ἀκόμη τίβοτας δὲν είχα φαγωμένα, ὅγαλι ὅγαλι ἐσάλευγα μὲ χειλη πρικαμένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.67-8

ἔδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Ἀλεξάντρου ἀφεντὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, χριστιανόν, τὸν δποίον
τὸν ἐλέγασι καὶ Σκεντέρη 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.22-4

ἔξιλθε διὰ νὰ κυνηγήσῃ μὲ τοὺς συνηθισμένους του καβαλάρους, ἄπο τοὺς δποίους
ἥτον ἔνας καὶ ἐτούτος δ ἀγαθὸς ἄνδρας 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.29-31

τῇ γραφή τῆς ἐκλαμπρότητός σου ἐλάβαμε ..., τὴν ὅποια ἐδιαβάσαμε τηνε, ὡς
ἔπρεπε, τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ ὀλονοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ 1665, Mani, BLANKEN 1951: VIII, 305.5

Modifying a Sentence

ἡ νύκτα ἐκαλοφόρεσεν, τὸ δὲν ἐποίκεν [ἥ] ἄλλη 16th c./15th c., BERGADIS, *Apok.* A 342
ἔξαιφνης ἐνίαβη, ὅπού δὲν τὸ ὀλπίζανε 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 25.2
οἱ σαῖττες καὶ τὰ τόξα τοῦ θανάτου εἰν' πολλὰ καὶ καιρὸν δὲν διορίζουν, πού τὸ
ξέύρομεν καλά 17th c., *Charon* II 13–14

(80) "Headless" relative clauses, i.e. those lacking an overt antecedent, normally have a generic/universal meaning ("whoever/whatever" or "any/every X that"); they are introduced by δπον/δπού/πον or by relative pronouns/specifiers with an inherently generic/universal sense, namely ὅσος (cf. Rule (78) NOTE (ii)) and ὅποιος/ὅ, τι.

By contrast, forms of the definite article are regularly used with a *specific* meaning in headless relatives = "the (specific) X that".

In the absence of an antecedent NP the relative marker combines the functions of both antecedent (in the main clause) and relativizer (in the relative clause), leading potentially to conflicting case assignments for inflected forms; when this occurs, the case requirements of the relative clause typically predominate (examples are italicized below, though nominative/accusative clashes involving neuters are, of course, "invisible").

Some relative elements used in headless relatives can also be used as specifiers, as in [whichever book he read] was soon forgotten. NPs with relative specifiers similarly fulfil two grammatical functions, and the requirements of the relative clause again predominate in the event of case conflict.

Article (definite/specific)

τοῦτο ψευδές ἐνόμιζον ..., τὸ λέγουσιν οἱ χωρικοὶ καὶ ὁ λόγος ὁ δημώδης
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 18–19

λέγω τὰ οὐκ ἐνδέχονται καὶ τὰ με οὔδεν ἀρμόζουν; 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 294
οὐ θέλουσιν ὑπόδησιν τούς ἔχω μετ' ἐμέναν; 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. II 32

τὴν ἥθελες καὶ ὠρέγουν νὰ κερδήσῃς, ... νὰ τὴν ἰδῆς μετὰ θ(εδ)ν εἰς δλιγάς ἡμέρας
?12th c. or 13th–14th c., Eisit. f.1v.7–14

τὴν ἐκρατοῦμεν ἄγαμον εύρεθη ἔγγαστρωμένη 13th–14th c./?, Paroim. D 119
περὶ νὰ ὑπάμε εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, τὰ οὐκ ἔχομεν γυρεύει, ἐνταῦτα στρέμμα ἃς

ποιήσωμεν ἀπέσω εἰς τὴν Πόλιν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 837–8

τί ἔναι, σκύλε, τὰ λαλεῖς, τί ἔν τὸ τζαμπουνίζεις; 15th c./14th c., Diig. tetr. 199 app. crit. (CLA)

γυνή τις γραῦς ὑπόσχεται νὰ δώσῃ ... καὶ κουφισμὸν εἰς τὸ πονεῖς καὶ λύσιν εἰς τὸ
πάσχεις 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 1108–9

τὸν ἀγαπᾶς εύρεθηκεν, ἀνέστη τὸν ἔξεύρεις 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 1686

τὸν κόσμον νὰ λυτρώνουμον παρὰ τὰ βλέπω τώρα 16th c./14th c., Byz. II. 262

- ἀμπτοτε τὸ μᾶς ἔταξαν νὰ τὸ φυλάξωσι τελείως 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 285.20
τὰ ῥίζεις προσκυνῶ καὶ θέλω νὰ τὰ ποίσω 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Thrinos* 119
ἀπὸ τὸ μου λολεῖτε, πώς ἐπήγα εἰς τὴν αὐλήν τῆς ἀφεντίας τῆς 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron.* A 60, 62.18
τὸ ζητᾶ γιὰ γιατρικόν, ἐκεῖνο τόνε βλάφτει 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.6
δπου/δπού
δποὺ θέλει νὰ ἐλθῇ ἃς ἐλθῇ μετὰ μέναν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 554
ηῦρασιν ὅτι εἶχαν πλέον κερδίσει παρὰ ὅπου εἶχαν στὰ κάτεργα 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 650–1
μὰ νὰ 'ναι ἀσυγχώρετος ὅπού θὲ σὲ πατάξει 15th c., CHOUMNOS, *Kosmog.* 206
δποὺ ἔχει πολὺν πιπέρι βάνει καὶ 's τὰ λάχανα 16th c./?, Paroim. H 32
καλότυχος ποῦ μεριμνᾷ πάντα τὸν θάνατόν του 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1345
δποὺ θυμάται θάνατον, ἐκεῖνος κυριεύει 17th c., MATTHAIOS MYR., *Ist. Vlach.* 1349
ὅσος (used as both pronoun and specifier)
ἀπὸ ὅσοι ἐναπέμειναν ἀπ' αὐτους, ... ἀενάως τοὺς ἐπαιρνεν μετ' αὐτόν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7209–11
ὅρκῶ σε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ..., ἐσὲν κι ὅσοι καθίζονται μετὰ σὲ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κούρτην 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543–4
ῶσπερ ἔναι ἡ συνήθεια νὰ πιάσει τὴν λεχώναν καὶ νὰ κάμει ὅσα εἶναι τῆς φύσεως
τῶν γυναικῶν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.34–5
τὸν ποιητὴν πάσης κτίσεως καὶ ἐλευθερωτὴν τῶν ψυχῶν πάντων τῶν δρθιδόξων
χριστιανῶν καὶ ὅσοι πιστεύσουν εἰς αὐτόν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 331.14–15
γ' αὗτος λολοί 'ναι ὅσοι θαρροῦ ... νὰ κάμουσι τὴ χέρα μου νὰ μὴ μπορὰ
τελείωσει 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof. Prol.* 34
ὅσοι Ρωμιότουρκοι ἐγροίκησαν τὸν ἀβγαμό μου παρευθύνς ἔτρεξαν σιμά μου 1660, Crete, KARATHANASIS 1973: 2, 27.13
ὅσα παιδιά 'ναι διαλεκτὰ εἰς μιὰ μεριά 's τὰ βάνη 17th c., KONDAR., *Paides* 171
δποιος/ὅ, τι (used as both pronoun and specifier)
ἀπὸ τοὺς μῆνας δώδεκα νὰ ἐπαιρην ὅποιος θέλει 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2004
ὅ, τι ηὔραν πράγματα ἐκεῖ ἐδιαγούμισάν τα 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 1306
ὅποια ἀπ' ἐσᾶς βάλη ἀρχήν νὰ μὲ δείρη ἔναι ἡ μεγαλύτερη πολιτικὴ καὶ πουτάνα
τοῦ κόσμου 15th–16th c./?15th c., VIOS AISOP. E 292.34
ὅποιαν βλέπτη νὰ δειλιὰ δίδει παρηγορία 15th–16th c./15th c., THESEID I.90,8 (FOLLIERI)
ὅποιον σου δείξω σκότωσε 16th c./15th c., PIKAT., *Rima thrin.* 383
ὅποιος αὐτὰ δρέγεται δουλώνεται καθόλου 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Log. did.* 111

δποιά εύρεθη, νὰ τὴν ξορίζουν ἔξω τῆς χώρας! 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron. A* 178.6
εἰς ὁραν ὑπανδρείας αὐτῆς ὅ.τι τῶς φανῇ νὰ τῆς δώσουν διὰ προικίον νὰ τῆς

δίδουν ἀπ' αὐτὰ, καὶ ὅ.τι τῶν φανῇ νὰ πουλήσουν νὰ τὰ κάνουν στάμενα
1527, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: 120, 217.26

κάμε ὅ.τι θές 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Katz.* III.267
ἀκόμη ἀφήνει τῆς Καντιῶς ὅ.τι μερτικό τοῦ ἐγγίζει στὸ χωράφι τῆς Κουκουβάγιας

1613, Syros, DRAKAKIS 1967: 9, 311.22

εἰς δποιον τόπον ἔσεις θέλετε ὑπάγει, εύρισκει σας 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 11-12
δποιος ἀγαπᾶ ἐμένα ζῶντ(ας) μου, ἔνα τους παρακαλῶ ν' ἀγαποῦσι τὴν μάνα μου
καὶ τὰ παιδιά μου δέκα 1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.144-5

νὰ είναι διαλέγονας ὁ Μανώλης νὰ παίρνῃ δποια πάρτην θέλει
1682, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 257, 449.23

6 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

6.1 Simple Prepositional Phrases

(81) LMedG/EMG prepositions normally govern an accusative NP to form a Prepositional Phrase (PP); clitic (personal) pronouns are sometimes permitted in the earliest texts (e.g. ἀνταπεκρίνατο πρός με δ ὑποψήφιος (?1144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4)), but full forms are normally preferred thereafter (e.g. οὐδὲν εύρισκω εἰς ἐμέν *Chron. Mor.* H 948).

The array of prepositions that appear routinely in LMedG/EMG (ἀπό, διά/για, εἰς/σε, με, παρά = “(rather/other) than”, πρός) is significantly smaller than that of AG. But other prepositions are found in older texts and archaizing, legal or official registers, as well as in many formulaic phrases, many of which have ecclesiastical origins (e.g. ἐν ὄνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ, etc.); in these cases prepositions that in AG governed the genitive or dative often continue to do so, though substitution of the accusative is also possible.

6.1.1 Frequently Occurring Prepositions + Accusative

ἀπό

For the use of ἀπό in partitive constructions (e.g. ἔνας ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ... ἀνέβηκε 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.19-22), see 5.2.2, Rule (73) NOTE (ii). Other principal uses are: “from”(spatial/metaphorical), “via/through”, “than”, “by/with” (agent/instrument), “after”.

ἄν μισεύσειν βούλεσαι ἀπὸ τὴν Ρωμανίαν 15th c./12th c., *Dig. E* 344

τὸ πέραμα νὰ ποιήσουσιν ἀπὸ τὴν Βενετίαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 310

σκάνταλον μέγα ἐγίνετον ἀπὸ τοὺς Βενετίκους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 408

ώσδαν ἐπιάστη πρότερον ἀπὸ τοὺς Βενετίκους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 865

περιεπάτει, ἔχαίρετον ἀπὸ ὅλον τὸ πριγκιπάτο 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H. 3041

σκοπάτε τὰ τέλη τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ τέλος τὴν ἀρχὴν
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 10.13-14

γιατὶ καλλιά δὲν εἶν' ὁ γεῖς τίβοτοι ἀποὺ τὸ ἄλλο
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, *Erof.* II.22

ἀπ' εὔτυχιές πληθαίνει (ὁ τόπος) 17th-18th c./17th c., *Prol. Epain. Kef.* 71

ἐκεῖνοι οἱ πανάπιστοι ... δργισθήκασι περίσσα καὶ ἀφίζασι ἀπὸ λύσσα ἐκδίκησης
18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 16.22-4

διά/γιά

“for/on behalf of”, “for (the purpose of)/as”

ὑπαγαίνασιν ἐκεῖ κ' ἐκατοικοῦσαν, οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ προσκύνημα καὶ ἄλλοι διὰ τὴν δόξαν
14th c., Chron. Mor. H. 120-1

ὅπου ἔσταιρώθη διὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τὸ γένος 14th c., Chron. Mor. H. 305

ἴπαρ' ἐκ τὰ φαρία μας νὰ ἔχης γιὰ τιμή σου 16th c., Imb. Rim. 237

πολλοὺς ἐπίσασεν ζωντανοὺς καὶ ἤθελε νὰν τους ἔξηβάλῃ εἰς τὸν κόσμον διὰ θαῦμα
16th c., Diig. Alex. F 24.6-7 (Konstantinopoulos)

κατέχεις ... τὸ πῶς σ' ἐκράτου πάντα μου ὡς γιὰ δασκάλισσά μου
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Katz. II.355-6

ἐκλελεμένος ... διὰ ἀσιστέντες 1687, Corfu, KARLAFTI-MOURATIDI 2005a: 1, 368.2

δὲν ἐκράτησε (πουρκί) καὶ διὰ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς παιδία τὰ δύο ... · ... τὴν ἐπῆρε διὰ
γυναῖκαν του 1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7-11

εἰς/σέ
“at/to, on/onto, in/into” (spatial/metaphorical), “for (the purpose of)”, “because of”

ξήτησαν ὁ λαὸς χωράφια εἰς τὸ σπέρωντεν καὶ ζῆν
?1130-40, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. XI: 14, 533.12

δέδωκέν μοι ἐν οἰκημα εἰς θεώρετρον ἐν τῇ πόλει Μεσσήνη
1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 363.9

μόνον προθύμως ἔξελθε εἰς τοῦ ἀμιρᾶ τὴν τόλμην
15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 7

ἄρων πολλὴν ἐποίσασιν καὶ εἰς λογισμούς ἐμπῆκαν
15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 75

ἀπὲ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πρέπει μας νὰ εἶμεσθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον
15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 95

στὸν χρόνο ἐκεῖνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἐδῶ
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7964

καὶ τ' ἄλλα πάντα θαυμαστούς, γενναῖοις εἰς ἀνδρεῖαν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 30

ἡπῆρεν τους, ἐπέβηκεν σ' τὸ κάτεργον ἀτή της· ἐδιέβηκε εἰς τὴν Φράγκιαν τοῦ ρήγαν
Ιταλίας

15th c., Chron. Toc. 19-20

ἀρχισεν ἔξεβαινεν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία, ἀμέριμνα καὶ ἀφοβα, ὥσπερ εἰς τὰ νησία
15th c., Chron. Toc. 155-6

θεσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀναγεγραμμένη μονή εἰς ὑμνον καὶ δόξα τοῦ παντοδυνάμου
Θεοῦ
1558, Corfu, KONDYANNIS/KARYDIS 1994: 2, 649.11

δ δὲ ἀγαθός ἀνδρας ἐκεῖνος ... ἐκατενύγηκεν εἰς τὴν ψυχήν
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ios. 41.3-4

μὲ
“with”, “by (means of)”

δ ἐκατήλαξα μὲ τὸ σύντεκνόν μου τὸν Μιχαὴλ
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.24

δταν ἐσυμβιβάστηκα μὲ τὸν ἔχτρὸν τοῦ Θέου

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5722

μὲ τὸν μακαρίτην τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τους ἐσυντύχαμεν περὶ τούτου

1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11-12

καὶ λαλοῦν πῶς δικούντη τε Ρουχᾶς ἔνε εἰς μεγάλην ἀγάπην μὲ τὴν κυράν μας τὴν
ρήγανα

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 220.34-6

ἔστοντας νὰ ἐπάρουσι τὸ Σάλονα μὲ προδοσία ἐνδές Σαλονίτου, ... ἐπεράσασι ...

ξεπλερώνοντας ... τὸ γαῖμα τῶν συντρόφων, πού μὲ πόλεμο καλὸ χύθηκε στὸ

Γαλαζείδι

ξνας ἀπὸ ἐκείνους ... ἀνέβηκε μὲ μία σκάλα νὰ τὸ (καντῆλι) ἔξεκρεμάσῃ

18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 16.24-17.6

παρά

“beyond” (metaphorical), “(more) than” (with a comparative adjective/adverb), “other/rather than”, “instead of”, “but for/except for” (= “only” in combination with a preceding negative, cf. “nothing but (for) X” = “only X”): περὶ is sometimes substituted

μὴ φοβηθῆτις τὸν θάνατον παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν

15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 2

Φιλοπατπού, γνωρίζεις με παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πλέον

15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 1385

λεπτομερῶς τοὺς ἔδειξεν τὴν στράταν τῆς Πολέου, τὸ πῶς ἔνι διαφορικὴ πλέον παρὰ
(sc. ἐκείνην) τῆς Συρίας

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 505-6

ὅστις ἥτον μακρύτερα παρὰ γάρ τὸν Δεσπότην

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 3623

ἄλλα πλεῖστα καὶ πλειότερα παρὰ ἐκεῖνα ὅπου του ἐδῶκεν

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4626

ὅσα παρὰ τὴν δύναμιν

16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 1560

πλέον περὶ ἄλλες Ἄμαζόνες αὐτὲς εἶχαν τὴν χάριν

15th-16th c./15th c., Theseid I.57,8 (Follieri)

τὰ ἄλογα δὲν εἶχα νὰ φᾶν παρὰ τὰ κιτρομηλόφυλλα

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 110.10-11

δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει παρὰ 5 τὰ ἐκατό

1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143

NOTES

- (i) The meaning “but rather”, though not a feature of SMG, did occur in earlier demotic and is a natural development from “rather than”, cf. “don't do X rather than Y” > “don't do X but rather (do) Y”, where the preposition has been reanalysed as a conjunction. Μὴ φοβηθῆτις τὸν θάνατον παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν (Dig. E 2, cited above) might therefore be read this way, though unambiguous examples of such reanalysis are hard to find.

- (ii) We may also note the potential for reanalysis of παρά in negative contexts as the modifier of a numeral or quantifier, cf. MG δεν ἡρθε παρὰ ἐνας X, where the use of the nominative excludes a prepositional analysis. Again, δὲν θέλετε τῶς πάρει παρὰ 5 τὰ ἐκατό (1662, Sifnos, MERTZIOS 1958a: 1, 110.143, cited above) might be understood this way, but clearly does not have to be.

πρός

"to(wards)" (spatial/metaphorical), "in accordance with", "against" (spatial), "about (number)", "X (number/amount) each" (distributive)

- ἀνταπεκρίνατο πρός με δέ ὑποψήφιος 71144, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. V: 9, 313.4
 ὅμοιον πρός ὡμον ἔθηκαν καὶ πρός ἀλλήλους λέγουν 15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 780
 ἐκείνη ἐκατεπήδησεν καὶ πρός ἐμένα ἥλθεν 15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 1186
 οἱ δύο κοντάδες τοῦ ἔδωκαν πρός ἔναν καβαλλάρην 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 220
 δημπρός δύοισι ἔξεβαιναν πρός εἴκοσι καὶ τριάντα 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1063
 τὰ ἔθνη γάρ τὰ ἀβάφτιστα, ὅρκον ἀν σὲ ποιήσουν πρός τὰ συνήθεια ὅπου ἔχουσιν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1249-50
 ἥρτεν πρός τὴν ἀνατολὴν, καὶ ἥρτεν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, καὶ ἐπέζευσεν πρός τὴν
Λεμεσὸν καὶ τύρεν τὸ νησῖν ἔρημον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 4.9-11
 εἰς τὸ πλε(υ)ρὸν τοῦ βημάτου πρός τὸν νότον ἔχει λάκκον 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 38.17-18

6.1.2 Prepositions of More Limited Frequency

Included here are a number of inherited prepositions, which may take the same case as in AG, or alternatively take a different case (given in brackets), either as a result of hypercorrection or in accordance with vernacular practice.

ἀντὶ + gen.(/acc.)

"instead of"

- ἀρκοῦν ἐμοὶ τὰ κάλλη τῆς ἀντὶ πολλῶν προικίων 13th-14th c./?12th c., Dig. G IV.747
ἀντὶ πατρὸς καὶ ἀντὶ μητρὸς καὶ ἀντὶ ἀδελφούς καὶ φίλους ἔχω ἐσένα σήμερον ἐδό
 εἰς τὴν ζενιτείαν μου 14th-15th c./13th c., Liv. E 61-2
 τὰς ψυχὰς ἀφήσωμεν ἀντὶ λιθομαργάρων 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 225
 δὲ τεχνίτης τὸν χρυσὸν εἰς δένδρον μεταπλάττει, ἀντὶ καρπῶν δὲ τεχνικῶς ἐνέθηκεν
 τούς λίθους 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], Kallim. 317-18
 βασιλεύς ἐστέφθηκα ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ πατρός μου 16th c./15th c., Om. Nekr. Vas. 53

ἀπό + gen.

"from" (often non-spatial), "by (means of)", "as a result of/after", "X (number/amount) each" (distributive)

- κατὰ ἐνα τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπό δύο ιματίων ἔχειν χρή 12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 1 104.28-9
ἀπό μανίας μου ρίπτω το ἀνταμοῦ μὲ τὸ σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 244
 τότε νὰ ἴδῃς πόλεμον καλῶν παλληκαρίων καὶ ἀπό τῆς μάχης τῆς πολλῆς κροῦσιν
 διασυντόμως 15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 35-6
 ἡμεῖς γάρ εύρισκόμεθα ἀπό γενεᾶς μεγάλης 15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 136

ἀπὸ καρδίας ἐστέναξεν, ἐκ βάθους τῆς ψυχῆς του

15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 635

εἰς τὸν μαρκέσην ἥλθασιν, γλυκέα τὸν χαιρετοῦσιν ... ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν δλῶν τῶν
πελεγρίνων

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 228-30

ἡ Πόλις ἐπιάστη ἀπὸ σπαθίου, ώσταν σὲ τὸ ἀφηγοῦμα 14th c., Chron. Mor. H. 550
 νὰ στείλω ἐκεῖ φουσσάτα ... νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς θαλάσσης κι ἀπαύτου πάλε ἀπὸ τῆς
γῆς νὰ ὑπάγουν τῆς στερέας

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4233-5

διὰ + acc.(/gen.)

"because of"
διὰ τοῦ ἑλέους του ὅρισεν τὸν Κεραμέαν δ, τι ἔχει διὰ πρακτικοῦ

ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.32

ἐλόγισεν, ως φρόνιμος, δτι ἀμαρτία ἥθελε εἶσται, διὰ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου θάνατον νὰ
 μείνῃ τὸ πασσάτζο 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 169-70ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι διὰ ἐμοῦ τὴν ἀφορμὴν τὸ πολεμοῦν ἐκεῖνοι 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 283-4
 διὰ τὰ δγια λείψανα τὰ εύρισκουνται εἰς τὴν Κύπρον

16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. O 24.6-7

διὰ τοῦτο γράφω ..., διὰ τὸν ἀπειθὴ λαόν, ὅποιο δὲν βοηθᾷ τὸν ἀρχιερέα αὐτοῦ

1622, ?Karpathos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: B, 300.14-17

διὰ τὸ αὐτὸν πρᾶμα ὅποιο εἶχεν τὴν ἐπῆρε διὰ γυναικαν του

1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.7-11

διὰ + gen.(/acc.)

"through(out)", "by means of"
διὰ πολλῆς ταχύτητος ἥλθον εἰς Ρωμανίαν. ... οἱ καὶ τούτῳ ἐδήλωσαν διὰ γραμματόφρου

13th-14th c./?12th c., Dig. G II.100-3

τὸ δένδρον ... ποτὲ οὐ καρπεύγει διὰ τὴν γῆν 15th c./13th-14th c., Liv. E 145-7

διὰ θαλάσσης καὶ ηρᾶς νὰ ὑπᾶσιν νὰ κουρσεύσουν 15th c., Chron. Toc. 1.61
 εύρεθην δι᾽ ἀποκαλύψεως θεοῦ 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 34.1

ἐκ + gen.(/acc.)

"from/out of", "as a result of"; ἐκ μέρους = "on behalf of"

δ παναθλία, τι ἔπαθες ἐκ τῆς παραδικίας! 15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 115

ἀπῆρεν δύο καβαλλαρίους δπου εἶχε ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς του ἐκ τὴν Τσαμπάνια ἐξέβηκεν
 κ' εἰς τὴν Φιλάντριαν ἥλθεν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 172-3

εἰς τὸν μαρκέσην ἥλθασιν, γλυκέα τὸν χαιρετοῦσιν ἐκ μέρους τῶν εὐγενικῶν ἐκείνων
 τῶν κοντάδων 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 228-9

μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐλάλησεν, ἐκ στόματος τοῦ εἶπεν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 329
ἐκ τὸν πολύν του τὸν δαρμόν 15th c., Peri xen. 31

δ ἄνθρωπος ... πιάνει τον (ξύλινον θεόν) ἐκ τους πόδας καὶ ρίπτει τον εἰς τὴν γῆν
 καὶ δταν ἐσυντρίφη, ἐκ τὸ κεφάλιν ἐρευσε χρυσάφι 16th c., NOUKIOS, Ais. Myth. 109.5

ἐν + dat./acc.)

"in"; ἐν τούτῳ = "then/next"

- πρόφθασον ἐν ἀνάγκαις νῦν, πρόφθασον ἐν τῇ θλίψει 15th c./?12th c., *Dig E* 1840
 ἐν τούτῳ, ως ἡθέλησε Θεὸς νὰ γένη τὸ πασσάτζο 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 157
 ως γάρ ἔνστάζει χάριτας ἔρως ἐν ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, οὔτως ἐν μόνῳ χωρισμῷ γέμει
 πολλὰς πικρίας 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 18–19
 ἐν δὲ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ καιρούς ἐκείνους δπου ἀκούεις οἱ Ἀλβανῖται ἀφέντευον τὸν
 τόπον Δεσποτάτου 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 44–5
 ἔβουλεύτηκα ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἐν τριάδι προσκυνουμένου, νὰ
 ἔξηγηθῶ περὶ τῆς ἀκριβῆς χώρας Κύπρου. Ὡς χρόνοι εἶνε γ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ...
 ἥτζου εἶνε καὶ οἱ ὕμεραι τῆς ζωῆς μας 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 2.1–5
 ἔγραπτη ἐν τῇ πόλει Λευκωσίᾳ ιγ' δικεβρίου, ἀτξη' Χριστοῦ
 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 222.5–6

ἐπί + acc. (sometimes for traditional genitive, e.g. ἐπὶ τοῦτον for ἐπὶ τούτου)

"to(wards)", "for (the purpose of)", "for (the duration of)"

- ἄλληλους ἐσυνέκοπτον ἐπὶ πολλὰς τὰς ὠρας 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G I* 179
 κάκειθεν μὲν ὑπέστρεφον πάντες ἐπὶ τὸν οἴκον 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G III*.32
 θροηθέντες ἀνέδραμον πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ δρός 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G III*.94
 δὲλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ προκείμενον δὲ λόγος ἀνακτέον 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 23
 οἱ Γενουβίσοι ἐποίκαν ἔναν χαρτίν νοταρικόν: "... ἔμπροσθεν ἐμοῦ ... καὶ μαρτύρων
 ..., ἐπὶ τοῦτον κληθέντων καὶ παρακληθέντων ..."
 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 504.29–33

ἐπί + gen.

"(up)on", "during (the time of)"; ἐπὶ ὀνόματος = "in the name of"

- ἀλλ' ως ἐκατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 215
 ἐλιγοθύμησε ... καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ γῆς παρέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα
 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 1864–5

- ἐπὶ τῆς αὐρίου γάρ τὸ πρωΐ, ... ἐδῶκαν τὰ σαλπίγγια τους
 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1479–80

- καθήμενος ἐπὶ λαμπροῦ βασιλικοῦ τοῦ θρόνου
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 695

- εύρεθη στρώμα κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς στρωμένον
 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 798

- ἡ ποια ἀγία ... ἐποίκεν καὶ ἤκισαν πολλὲς ἐκκλησίες εἰς τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐπὶ¹
 ὀνόματος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 4.23–6

6 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

ἐπὶ + dat.

"on (top of)/over" (non-spatial), "in (the case of)", "for (the purpose of)"

- ἐπὶ προδήλοις πράγμασιν οὐ χρεία τῶν μαρτύρων 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 44
 τοῦ κόρακος ἐπάνω μου τῆς στέγης ἐπὶ κακῷ καθίσαντος καὶ κράζειν ἀρξαμένου

- 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 46–7

- ἐπὶ θανάτῳ θάνατον δέχεται καθ' ἐκάστην

- ἡ μήτηρ εὐφραίνετο ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ τέκνοις 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 113

- κατά + acc.

"according to", "through(out)/during": κατὰ τύχη(ν) = "by chance"

- ὅ τελει γάρ χρησάμενος τοῦ βίου κατὰ φύσιν 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 102

- ὅς εἶδες κάν ἐνύπνιον γλυκὺν κατὰ τὸν ὑπνον! 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 168

- ὅ υἱός μου νὰ ἔλθῃ μετ' ἐσᾶς κατὰ τές συμφωνίες μας 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 700

- ποῦ κατὰ τύχη ἀπέρχετον βάρκα ἀπὸ τὴν Πούλιαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 2240

- μὲ τὸ θέλημαν δλους τοὺς περίτου αὐθέντες ... δπου εύρισκουνταν κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν

- μία λοιμικὴ ἀσθένεια ... ἔποικε ἔξολόθρεμα καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη Σαλόνου 18th c., *EFTHYM., Chron. Gal.* 20.1–4

κατά + gen./acc.)

"in front of" (spatial), "against" (metaphorical); κατὰ πρόσωπα = "in the face of"

- θεωρεῖς ἐκείνους τοὺς ἀγρίους ὄρμῶντας οὕτω κατὰ σοῦ

- 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 173–4

- τὸν ἴὸν ἔξεχε κατὰ τοῦ εὔεργέτου

- 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 386

- ἀνάθεμά με, βασιλεῦ, δταν στραφῶ καὶ ἰδῶ τον, τὸ πῶς ἀνακομβώνεται κατὰ τῆς

- μαγειρέας 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 131–2

- ἡ πόλις τῆς Τσάρας ... ροβολεμένη εύρισκετον κατὰ τῆς Βενετίας

- 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 416–17

- ὅποτε θελήσου νὰ ρεβελιάσουν κατὰ μέναν 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 20.10

- ἄν σηκώσῃ τὸ χέριν του κατὰ πρόσωπα τοῦ ψουμάτου

- 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 24.28–9

- εἰς τὸ δποῖον περισσότερον ἐθυμώθηκεν δ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὀργίζετο κατὰ τῶν μοναχῶν

- 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas.* 39.21–2

μετά + acc.

"after"

- μετὰ δὲ τὴν συνάφειαν συνέλαβεν ἡ κόρη, καὶ ἔτεκε τὸν Διγενῆ Βασιλειον Ἀκρίτην

- 13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig. G II*.47–8

- μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ ἐλάλησεν, ἐκ στόματος τοῦ εἶπεν

- 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 329

- μετά τὴν παραδρομὴν καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου τόπου εἰς κάστρον κατηνήσασιν μέγα
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 173–4
- μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ρὲ Οὔγκε ἐρμάστην μὲ τὸν Ρεῖμουν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πρίντζη
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 40.15–16
- μετά + gen.(/acc.)
“with”
- λεπτῶς τὸν ἀφηγήσαντο τὴν πρᾶξιν καὶ τὸν βίον, κι δσα ἐκατεστήσασιν μετὰ τοὺς
Βενετίκους
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 376–7
- μετὰ βουλῆς καὶ ὄρισμοῦ κύριον Σάκη τοῦ Βατάτου ἐστέψασιν διὰ βασιλέαν Ἀλέξιον
τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 587–8
- πρὸς τὸν τρίτον τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας μεταγαγεῖν ἐπείγετο μετὰ πολλοῦ
τοῦ πόθου
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 36–7
- οἱ Βενετίκοι ... μὲ πονηρίαν, μὲ φρόνεσιν, μετὰ μεγάλης τέχνης, γιοφύρια ἐποίκασιν
ἄνω εἰς τὰ καράβια
16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 540–2
- μέχρι + gen.(/acc.)
“as far as/until”
- ἀπὸ γάρ τὴν ἀνατολὴν μέχρι τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν δύσιν
15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1610
- ἀνέταξεν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν κρεμαμένην κόρην, μέχρι ποδῶν ἐκ κορυφῆς ὡς ἄκρων τῶν
δακτύλων
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 508–9
- κοιμᾶται μέχρι δειλινοῦ βασιλικῶς ἡ κόρη 16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2120
- φαίνουνται μέχρι τὴν σῆμμερον τὸ τειχόκαστρον καὶ οἱ θεμελοὶ τοὺς πύργους
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 98.15–16
- παρά + acc.(/gen.)
“against/beside”, “contrary to”; παρὰ καιρὸν = “out of time, at the wrong time”
- παρὰ καιρὸν ὑποπεσεῖν θανάτῳ κατεκρίθην
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 569
- νὰ μὲ ὀνειδίζῃς ἀσκημα, ἀδίκως, παρὰ λόγου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4175
- παρὰ τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ δενδροῦ ἐκείνου καθημένη
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1815
- ὅφεις μεγάλοι, φοβεροὶ καὶ θῆρες παρὰ φύσιν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 190
- νεκρὸς νὰ γένηται εὐθὺς παρὰ τῆς ὥρας
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 2554
- παρά + gen.
“from/by” (an animate source)
- τοιαῦτα πέπονθα δεινά, κρατάρχα στεφηφόρε, παρὰ μαχίμου γυναικὸς καὶ
τρισαλιτηρίας
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 268–9
- φωνὴ παρὰ τοῦ δράκοντος εἰς τὸν Ἀκρίτην ἤλθεν
15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1090
- παρὰ σαλῶν καὶ ἄτακτων ἀνθρώπων ἐδιδάχθην
15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1565
- τὸ τί ... νομέύεται παρὰ τοῦ Καμπανέση
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1909–10

- περὶ + gen.(/acc.)
“about/concerning” (non-spatial); περὶ πολλοῦ = “greatly”
- ἡμᾶς δὲ κατηχίζουσιν περὶ φιλαργυρίας
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* IV 407
- ἄς σᾶς ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὰς ἀμωρίας του
15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 619
- περὶ ἀπελάτων ἦκουσε εὐγενικῶν καὶ ἀνδρειῶν
οἱ Φράγκοι γάρ ὡς ἔμαθαν περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως
15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 624
- ἔβουλεύτηκα ... νὰ ἔξηγηθῶ περὶ τῆς ἀκριβῆς χώρας Κύπρου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 560
- ἄς πούμεν καὶ περὶ τῶν κουμουνίου τῶν Γενουβίσων καὶ Βενετίκων
16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron.* V 2.1–3
- ἄγάπα δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ νέους χαριτωμένους
16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 17
- πρὸ + gen.
“before” (spatial [early])/temporal/metaphorical); πρὸ καιροῦ = “before one’s time”,
πρὸ πάντων = “above all”
- τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων ἀπιστον εἶχον καὶ φιλορίαν
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 17
- ἄ πάτερ, πάτερ βασιλεῦ, παῖδας ἀνάνδρους ἔχεις, ἄν πρὸ πολέμου τρέπωνται καὶ
φεύγουσι πρὸ μάχης
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 112–13
- καλὸν μὲν οὖν, ὃ βασιλεῦ, τοῦτο πρὸ πάντων ἄλλων τὸ μὴ πεσεῖν εἰς μέριμναν
ἐρωτικὴν τὸν νοῦ σου
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1029–30
- ἔναν εύροῦσα πρὸ πυλῶν ἀπὸ τῶν παιδοπούλων, στήκει καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1070–1
- πῶς ἔμαράνθη πρὸ καιροῦ ἀπὸ κλαθμοῦ καὶ πόνου
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 1591
- τὰ κοντάρια στένουσιν πρὸ μάχης νὰ κινήσουν
16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 460
- σύν + dat.(/gen.)
“(together) with”
- αὐτὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦπτετο ἄμα σύν τοῖς ἀγούροις
13th–14th c./?12th c., *Dig.* G II.300
- ἔξηλθον ἔξωθεν κάγω θρηνῶν σύν τοῖς ἑτέροις
14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* I 218
- τὸ κοράσιο ἐγέλασεν, μεγάλως τὸ ἀποδέχθην καὶ σύν ἐκείνης τῆς χαρᾶς πάλιν γελᾶ
ἡ κόρη
15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1120–1
- οἱ καβαλλάροι σύν αὐτῷ εὔτύς ἐγονατίσαν
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 5887
- ἔδοκει γάρ σύν τῷ λευκῷ καὶ ρόδου χάριν ἔχειν
16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], *Kallim.* 816
- ὑπὲρ + acc.(/gen.)
“above/beyond/past” (spatial [early])/metaphorical), “more than”
- κἄν ὑπὲρ κέδρους ύψωθῇ καὶ κορυφὰς ὁρέων
13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 374
- ἔχει ... καὶ τόλμην ὑπὲρ ἀπασαν καὶ γνώμην θηριώδην
15th c./?12th c., *Dig.* E 1333–5
- ἄνθρωπος ἦτο εὐγενικός, φρόνιμος ὑπὲρ μέτρου
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 161

δπου ἀπιστῆσαν εἰς ἐμὲν ὑπὲρ φορῶν γάρ δύο	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 5660
διατὶ ἡτον εὐγενικὸς κ' εἰς πλοῦτος ὑπὲρ φύσιν	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 6298
τὴν ἡδονὴν ὑπὲρ τὸν λόγον ἔχων	16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], <i>Kallim.</i> 286
τὰς χάριτας ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν τὴν τῶν Χαρίτων φύσιν	16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], <i>Kallim.</i> 810
κρατούμενοι δὲ εἰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἄλλου εἰς πίστιν	16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron.</i> V 260.10–11
ὑπὲρ + gen. “for (the purpose of)”, “on behalf of”, “because of”	
θανοῦσα ὅψεσθε μητέρα ὑπὲρ τέκνου	13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. G I.79</i>
τοὺς μαρτυρήσαντες στερρῶς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ λόγου	14th c./12th c., <i>Ptoch. III</i> 288
κλίνειν ἔχω κεφαλὴν ὑπὲρ εὔχῆς μου πρώτης	15th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. E 290</i>
αὐτὰς ψυχὰς προδώσωμεν, τὰ σώματά μας ὅλα ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης ὀδελφοῦ	16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], <i>Kallim.</i> 1355–6
ὑπό + acc. “under/beneath” (rare/early)	
δεῦρο ὑπὸ σκιάν ἀπέλθωμεν τοῦ δένδρου	13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. G VI.775</i>
μὴ γάρ ἀπώσῃ με ... ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν προστρέχοντα μετὰ δακρύων σκέπτην	14th c./12th c., <i>Ptoch. IV</i> 9–10
ὑπό + gen. “by” (agent/instrument); ὑπὸ χειρὸς (formulaic)	
ἄν δὲ τὰ μέλη ἀπαντα ... γνωρισθῆναι ὑπὸ τίνος μὴ δυνάμενα ὅλως	13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. G I.229–30</i>
πῶς κατεκόπτης μεληδὸν ὑπὸ χειρὸς βαρβάρων;	13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. G I.239</i>
ἀς ὑπὸ βέλους τὰς ψυχὰς ἐτρώθησαν τῷ κάλλει	13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. G VI.127</i>
ἐστέφθην εἰς τὸν Ἀγιον Νικόλαον ὑπὸ χειρὸς τοῦ φρὲ Πιέρο Τουμᾶς	16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron.</i> V 92.31–2
ἰδόντας δὲ Μπαγιαζίτης ὅτι νικᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐκθροῦ του	17th c., <i>Chron. Tourk. Soult.</i> 39.23–4
χάριν + gen. “for (the sake of)”; follows NP in AG	
χάριν αὐτοῦ μὴ θλίψεσαι	13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, <i>Stichoi</i> 313
εἰ προσεγγίσαι πώποτε τολμήσει τῷ πυλῶνι χάριν μικρᾶς ἀνακωχῆς καὶ κουφισμοῦ τῶν πόνων	13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, <i>Stichoi</i> 452–3
τίνα ζητεῖτε, ἄγουροι, τίνος χάριν θρηνεῖτε;	13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. G I.218</i>
τούτου χάριν τὸν πόλεμον οὐδαμῶς ἐπησχύνθην	13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. G VI.752</i>
τὸ ἔτερον (ἔχω ἀγοράν) ἀπὸ τοῦ Παρασκευᾶ καὶ τοῦ Παγκάλου καὶ Πετρώνα χάριν ψυχικῆς σωτηρίας	ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.26

ἄς δώσουν καὶ τὸν ιωάννην ὑπέρπυρον α' χάριν κουρτζουβακίου	ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.52
ὅθεν καὶ χάριν τούτου γράφοντες ἀναφέρομεν τῷ σῷ μεγίστῳ κράτει	16th c./14th c., [ANDR. PALAIOL.], <i>Kallim.</i> 2274–5
χωρὶς + gen./acc.)	
“without”	
γονεῖς ἀτέκνους καθιστᾶ, τέκνα χωρὶς γονέων	13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, <i>Stichoi</i> 35
χωρὶς θαλάσσης πνίγεσαι, χωρὶς πυρὸς ἔξαπτεις	13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, <i>Stichoi</i> 145
εἰ δὲ κάκενος τρέψει με, χωρὶς λόγου παντοῖου, νὰ λήψεσθε τὴν ὀδελφὴν μηδὲν ζημιωθέντες	13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. G I.122–3</i>
οὐκ ἔκρινα τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς χωρὶς ὅπλων	13th–14th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. G VI.521</i>
αὐτοὶ τὸν ἀπεκρίθησαν λόγια χωρὶς ἔργον	15th c., <i>Chron. Toc.</i> 1625
ώμοσαν μερτικὸν θεληματικῶς, καὶ μερτικὸν χωρὶς τὸ θέλημάν τους	16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron.</i> V 44.29–30
ἔμεινεν χωρὶς βλάβην ὡς γοιὸν ἦτον	16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron.</i> V 68.16
θέλω ... τίποτας νὰ μὴν ποίσῃς χωρὶς τοῦ θελημάτου μου	16th c., <i>Imb. Rim.</i> 167–8

6.2 Phrases with a Governing Adverb

(82) Local, temporal and comitative PPs headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπί and μὲ may be governed by semantically appropriate adverbs; these combinations in part replace the simple prepositions that were falling out of use (see above). The adverbial element usually precedes the PP, though sometimes follows it.

Such adverbs may also govern a genitive NP directly; clitic (personal) pronouns are regular in this construction, and clitics also appear with certain other adverbs (for examples see below).

6.2.1 Adverb Governing a PP (Headed by ἀπό/ἐκ, εἰς/ἐπί, μὲ)

With ἀπό and ἐκ

(i) = “above”/“below” (with separation)

δ ἴδρος τους ἔξεβαίνεν ἀπάνω ἀπ' τὰ λουρίκια

15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E 41*

ἡ λεγόμενη χώρα τῆς ἵνδιας εύρισκεται κάτω ἀπὸ τὴν Αἴγυπτον

17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ios.* 30.21–2

(ii) = “outside”/“out of”

ἀρχισεν ἔξεβαίνεν ἔξω ἐκ τὰ νησία, ἀμέριμνα καὶ ἀφοβα, ὀσπερ εἰς τὰ νησία

15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 155–6

τοῦ ὁποίου δίδει ἀουτοριάν ... ὅτι νὰ ἡμπορῇ νὰ τήνε ντεφεντέρη ... καὶ ὅξω

ἀπὸ τὴν κούρτην εἰς πᾶσα κρίσιν καὶ δφίκιον τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας

1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4–7

- (iii) = "apart from" (non-spatial), "without"
ἐστὶν ῥθες κ' ἐπολέμησες χωρὶς ἐκ τὴν βουλὴ μου 16th c., *Imb. Rim.* 153
ἐμολόγησεν εἰς τὸν δρόκον του πώς δὲν ἔγινηκε ἄλλην προσκάμωσιν παρὲξ ἀπὸ τὰ δύο μουσικάρια 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 20, 32.6-7
τοῖς ὅποις ἀτσετάραν καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἀδελφοί, δέξω ἀπὸ τὸ Στράτη 1613, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 841, 733.16-17
- (iv) = "after"
ὑστερα ἀπὸ τοῦτα, ἐκαμώθη ὁ σουλτάν Μεχεμέτης τάχα πώς θέλει νὰ κάμη ἀγάπην μὲ τὸν βασιλέα 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 83.9-10
ὑστερα ἀπὸ κάμποσα, μία λοιμική ἀσθένεια ... ἔποικε ἔξολόθρεμα καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη Σαλόνου 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 20.1-4
- With εἰς/σὲ and ἐπὶ
- (i) = "(up)on, above, over"/"below"
στραφεῖς οὐν πάλιν ἔπεσον ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 204
ὅρκῷ σε κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ κ' εἰς τὴν ψυχήν σου ἀπάνω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7543
βουλήν ἀπῆρα ... ποτὲ νὰ μὴ τὴν στρέψω ὡσότι στέκη ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπάνω εἰς τὸ κορμὶ μου 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1412-13
οἱ Βενετίκοι ... γιοφύρια ἐποίκασιν ἀνω εἰς τὰ καράβια 16th c./14th c., *Chron. Mor.* P 540-2
- ῆλθαν καταπάνου εἰς τὸ φουσάτον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου 16th c., *Dilig. Alex. F* 14.21-2 (Konstantinopoulos)
- στρώσετε τάβλα ἀποκάτου εἰς τὴν ἀπιδέα, νὰ φάω, νὰ πιῶ μὲ τὸ Χάροντα 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.35-6
- φάγα το (ψωμί) οἱ γι-ἄθρωποι ἀποπάνω στὸν τάφο τοι 1642, Crete, PAPADOPOULOS/FLORENDIS 1990: 21, 15.8
- νὰ πᾶς νὰ τὸν ἀγκαλιαστεῖς εἰς τὸ δεντρὸν ἀποκάτω 18th c./16th-17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* IV.1546
- ὁ Σάντσος ἐκαλοκάθισεν ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ γομάρι του 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.27-8
- (ii) = "between"/"during"
ἀρκεῖ καὶ σώζει νὰ γενῆι εἰρήνη καὶ φιλία ἀνάμεσα γάρ εἰς τοὺς δύο ἀφέντες τῆς Ρωμανίας 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 2582-3
μέσον εἰς τὰ καμώματα ... ἔτυχε καὶ συνέβηκεν ἀπέθαν<εν δ Σπά>τας 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 174-5
ἀνάμεσα εἰς τοῦτα ἐσυνέβηκε καὶ ἐτοῦτο 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 39.20-1
- (iii) = "inside"
ἔσυ ἄν ... καὶ βλέπης ἄλλον κείμενον ἀπέσω εἰς τὸ καμίνιν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 119-20

- τοὺς ἑκατέσφαξαν ἀπὸ ἔσω εἰς τὰ κρεββάτια 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1542
τὸν ἐκράτει δι βασιλέας εἰς φυλακὴν του ἀπέσω 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7969
πηγαίνοντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπήν, ἐβγάλαν τὰ πράματα τὰ ἐπῆραν ..., μέσα στὸ παλάτιν τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron. A* 20.5-7
ἡ πανιερότη σου δὲ μοῦ ἐκαμες δύο λόγια ἐκεῖ μέσα στὴ γραφή 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.24-5
- (iv) = "in front of"/"behind", "before" (temporal)
στὸν χρόνο ἐκεῖνον καὶ καιρόν, ὅπου σὲ ἀφηγήθην ἔδω ὀπίσω εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο ποῦ ἀναγινώσκεις 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7964-5
βλέποντας ἔνα καντήλι ..., πού ἔκαιε ἐμπρός στὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ Χριστοῦ 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 18.20-2
- ἐπεριπατοῦσε καὶ ἔτρωγεν κατόπι εἰς τὸν ἀγάν του 18th c., *Don Kis.* 47.29
- (v) = "near/beside/around"
τὰ τριπούτσέτα ἐσύρνασιν γύρωθεν εἰς τοὺς πύργους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 1481
ἔχοντα καὶ ἡτον κοντὰ τὸ Ιεροσόλυμαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, ἤλθαν πολλοὶ μὲ τές γυναικες τους καὶ μὲ τὰ παιδία τους 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron. O* 24.7-9
ἔκαμνε χρείαν ὅτι ἔγώ νὰ σταθῶ σιμᾶ εἰς τὸ κτίσμα 17th c., *Diath. Nikon Metan.* 57
- (vi) = "as far as"
ἐρχόντησαν μέχρι εἰς τὴν γῆν ὡσάν νὰ ἥσαν βάρκες 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 539
μέχρι στὴν Ἀνδριανόπολιν ἐσώσαν κ' ἐκουρσέψαν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 647
ἐρήμωσαν πολλὰ μέχρι καὶ εἰς τές πόρτες 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 368
- With μὲ = "together with"
- ἀπὸ μανίας μου ρίπτω το ἀνταμοῦ μὲ τὸ σκουτέλλιν 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. IV* 244
στέκοντας καὶ διώσηφ εἰς τὴν Βηθλέεμ ὁμοῦ μὲ τὴν ἀγίαν Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν 16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 337.29-30
εἰς τὴν διάταξιν σου ἀντάμα μὲ τοὺς κλερονόμους σου ... ἀς ἔχῃ τὸ χαρτί σου (καὶ) τ' ὄνομαν τοῦ δικαστοῦ 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 494-6
- ὅμαδι μὲ τὴν συμβίαν του καὶ μὲ τὴν θυγάτηρ των 1594, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 152, 276.4-5
- τάσσει δι αὐτὸς ἀφέντης Τζώρτζης νὰ κάμη τὸ Γιάννη-Τουρκογιάννη ... νὰ σπείρου διμάδι μὲ τὸν αὐτὸν κυρ-Νικολό τὰ χωράφια 1611, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 729, 632.10-11
- διατί ἀν εἶναι ἐκεῖνοι ἀμάδι μὲ τοῦ λόγου σου, ἔγώ δὲν σοῦ ἀποκρίνομαι 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34, 1-2

6.2.2 Adverb + Genitive NP

- ἔτερον χωράφιν εἰς τὴν Παληρέαν μοδίων ή', πλησίον τοῦ Πετεάκα καὶ τοῦ Τορνάρου
ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27
- νὰ ποιήσῃ κι ἀλλον (κάστρον) γύρωθεν ἐκείνων τῶν βουνίων
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 3000
- ἀνάμεσα γάρ τῶν Φραγκῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐδικοῦ του ἀλλάγι ὑπάγαινε
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 5063-4
- ἐπεὶ ... τοῦ τόπου τὰ συνήθεια δρίζουν διτὶ ὁ πρίγκιπας ... σωματικῶς νὰ ἀπέρχεται
ἐντὸς τοῦ πριγκιπάτου
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7880-3
- ὁ τάφος τῆς εἶνε κάτω τῆς γῆς 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 34.2
- μόνον μὲν τορμήσῃς νὰ τὸν πάρης ἔξω τῆς Κύπρου
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 68.24-5
- νὰ ἐμποῦσιν μέσον τοῦ ρηγὸς καὶ ἐκείνου νὰ τοὺς ποίσουν ἀγάπην
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 198.2-3
- τὰ ποῖα εἶναι καταπρόσωπα τοῦ λουτροῦ, τοῦ κόκκινου
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 6.13
- ἐνέβην ὅμπρός τοῦ ρηγός 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 40.15-16
- τὸ διγιο ἔργο ... ἔδωσε ἀφορμὴ ἐμᾶς ... νὰ φανερωθοῦμε ἔμπροστεν τῆς
ἐκλαμπρότη(ς) σας 1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 33.3-5
- ώς δὲ ἐφθάσαμεν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν θυρῶν 16th c., PAPA-LAVR., Diigisis (Meteoron) 108.13
- εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτῆς ὑπόθεσιν καὶ διαφορὰν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἐκλαμπροτάτης ἡμῶν
Αὔθεντίας
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 30, 49.4-5
- ἐμάζωξε δλα του τὰ φουσσάτα καὶ ἐδιάβη καταπάνω τοῦ Μάρκου κράλη, ἀφεντὸς
τῆς Βουλγαρίας 17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 29.11-12
- ἐπῆγες καὶ κόντρα τῆς φύσεώς σου νὰ μὴν λυπηθῆσι τὰ παιδία σου
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ios. 33.29-30
- ὄντε ξημερώνει, ἅμε ὅμπροστάς τοῦ βασιλέως 17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ios. 42.5-6
- + Genitive Clitic
- πῶς ἥπλωσας ἐπάνω μου; 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. I 145
- δργήν νὰ ἔχῃ ἀπάνου του ὅπού ποτὲ ἀγάπη θελήσῃ μὲ τὸν Πρίαμον νὰ ἔχῃ μίαν
τήμεραν 16th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1467-9 app. crit. (V)
- ἐξάγκωνα τοὺς φέρετε δεμένους ἔμπροσθέ μου 15th c./?14th-15th c., Achil. L 367
- παρακαλῶ σε νὰ ποισωμεν δῆμιμαν μεσόν μας
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 20.17-18
- εἰς τὸ ἔμπα του εἰς τὸ καστέλιν, ἐσφαλίσαν τὲς πόρτες καταπρόσωπά του
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 36.20-38.1

- τὰ πρόβατά του δὲ θέλει χόρτα σήμερο νὰ φᾶν ἀπὸ σιμά του
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Panor. I.33-4
- ὅλα τὰ τερπνὰ τοῦ κόσμου ἡσαν ὅμπρός του ώσαν ἔνας βρῶμος
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ios. 47.15-16
- ὕστερα ἤρθανε καταπάνου τους βασιλικὰ στρατεύματα
18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 22.13-14
- Non-Spatial Adverbs + Genitive Clitic
- τὸν ἔχω εύκαιρητὴν ἐκεῖνον τὸν γονέαν ὅπού διδάξῃ γράμματα ποτέ του τὸ παιδίν
του 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 208-9
- ποτέ μου δὲν ἔζήλωσα κακὸν διὰ νὰ λαλήσω
εἰς πάθη στέκω πάντα μου κι εἰς κόλαση μεγάλη
16th c./15th c., Om. Nekr. Vas. 39
- ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ συνβίαν του καὶ νὰ ἐπῆγεν νὰ ἐπουρκόταζε κρυφά του τῆς θυγατέρας
της 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Panor. I. 216
- 1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.4-5

7 Coordination and Apposition

7.1 Coordination

7.1.1 Sentences and Clauses

(83) The linking together of (at least potentially) independent sentences within a narrative by means of initial καὶ is common in vernacular texts.

Treatment of such cases as a succession of autonomous sentences rather than a series of conjoined main clauses within a single sentence is essentially arbitrary, partly reflecting the manuscript tradition and partly the inclinations of editors.

The core meaning is simply additive ("and then/next"), though the context may invite more specific readings involving causation, consequence, etc.

Καὶ καθὰ πωρὸν ἐπήγαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν. Καὶ ἔγρικαν λειτουργιάν. Καὶ τότες ἐκαβαλλίκευγεν. Καὶ ἐπήγαινεν εἰς τὴν ρήγαιναν. Καὶ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐδείχνει του πολλήν δγάπην.

16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 50.2-5

Ἡτον ἐνὸς βασιλέως μίός. Καὶ ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡθέλησε νὰ ὑπάγῃ εἰς τὸν λουτρὸν νὰ λούσῃ τὸ κορμί του. Ἡτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του, ὁμοῦ καὶ χοντρός, ὥστε ἀπό τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόντεσαν τὰ ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ὁ λουτριάρης, ἔστοντας νὰ ἰδῇ ἐτοῦτο, ὅπι κακόν ἦτον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, ἔκλαιεν αὐτόν.

16th c./15th c., Syndipas 116.10-14

Καὶ ἐμαζώκτησαν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀρματώθησαν καὶ ἐδιάβησαν καὶ ἐστάθησαν κοντά στὸν ποταμὸν λεγόμενον Σάβα. Καὶ ἀκαρτερούσανε τὸν σουλτάνη Μουράτη, ὃπου ἐρχέτονε μὲ πολὺ φουσσάτο καὶ ἔσυρνε κοντά του καὶ τοὺς δύο του γένους.

17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soult. 27.14-17

(84) Two or more main clauses may be conjoined with (καὶ ...) καὶ "both ..." and ... ", as may two or more subordinate clauses of the same type/with the same function; these are normally governed by the same conjunction if one is present.

Since subject pronouns are regularly omitted in LMedG/EMG unless contrastive/emphatic, it is often impossible to determine whether we are dealing with coordination of complete clauses with missing subjects, e.g. [_s [_s (*she*) *came*] and [_s (*she*) *saw*] and [_s (*she*) *conquered*]], or coordination of VPs that share a subject, e.g. [_s (*she*) [_{vp} [_{vp} *came*] and [_{vp} *saw*] and [_{vp} *conquered*]]]. Ambiguous examples are therefore divided somewhat arbitrarily between the two possibilities (i.e. treated as clausal coordination immediately below, and as VP coordination in 7.1.3).

In cases other than those involving conjoined clauses/VPs the default position adopted here is that we are dealing with coordinated sub-clausal constituents of the relevant type (e.g. AdjPs [[*tall*] and [*slim*]] in *she was tall and slim* etc.; see 7.1.3 for LMedG/EMG

examples), even though competing analyses involving conjoined VPs with verb ellipsis [[*was tall*] and [(*was*) *slim*]] or conjoined clauses with omission of subject and verb [[*she was tall*] and [(*she was*) *slim*]] are often possible.

Ντζανέτα τὴν ὠνόμασαν, καὶ [δσον ἐκαταστάθη καὶ ἤλθεν τοῦ νόμου ἡλικίας καὶ ἐγίνετον γυναῖκα], ἄντραν τῆς ἐδώκασιν μιστρὶ Νικόλαον ἐκεῖνον. 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8032-4
Ἐπιεὶ δὲ πτωχὸς τὸν οἶνον καὶ ἐλησμόνησεν τὰ χρέη του.

16th c./?, Paroim. H 50

Ἡτον παχὺς εἰς τὸ κορμί του, ὁμοῦ καὶ χοντρός (sc. ἦτον), ὥστε ἀπό τοῦ πάχους δὲν ἐφαινόντεσαν τὰ ἀρχίδια αὐτοῦ.

16th c./15th c., Syndipas 116.11-13

Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Ἰωάννου Κομνηνοῦ ... ἦτον ἐνας δύναμι Μιχαήλ Δούκας Γλαβᾶς, καὶ ἐτίμησέ τον δὲ βασιλεύς πρωτοστάτορα καὶ ἐδωκέν τον τὸ φοσσάτον δλον τὸ ρώμαϊκὸν καὶ ἐμπιστεύθη του καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν κατὰ Περσῶν ἥγουν τῶν Κιζηλμπάσιδων.

1565-75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 15.3-5

δὲ ποτοῖος Λάζαρος ἐκαμε τέσσαρες ἡμέρες εἰς τὸν Ἀδην, καὶ ... ἐξηγήθη εἰς τέσσαρα βιβλία καὶ ἰδόντας αὐτὰ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πατέρες, ἔκρυψαν τὰ τρία καὶ δὲν ηύρισκονται τὸ δὲ πρῶτον βιβλίον τοῦτο ἔναι εἰς τὴν Ρώμην καὶ ἤκουσα ἐκ τὸν Σάντα Κροῦζε τὸν γαρδηνάλε, δτι πᾶσα ὅποι νὰ γένη νέος καρδηνάλες, τοῦ τὸ διδουνε, καὶ τὸ διαβάζει μία φορά, καὶ ἄλλον ἀνθρωπὸν δὲν τὸ δείχνουν.

1565-75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 11, 19.1

ἐκόπτηκε τὸ μιαρότατο χέρι του καὶ ἐπεσε νεκρὸ ... καὶ μεγάλος σεισμός ἐγενέθηκε.

Ἐτότες ἐφάνηκε ἐνας καβαλάρης ... καὶ ἀρχισε νὰ σφάζῃ τούς πειράτες καὶ τούς ἐπῆρε κυνηγῶντας ὅξω ἀπό τὸ Γαλαξείδι ..., καὶ ἐκεὶ ἔγινε ἀφαντος ἀπό τὴν γῆ. Ἐτότες οἱ Γαλαξειδιῶτες κατατρεγμένοι ἐπήγασι καὶ ἔχτισασι σπίτια στὰ τριγύρω νησόπουλα.

18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 18.24-19.8

Οι ιστροι ἐτράβησαν τὰ σαλιβάρια των μουλαρίων, καὶ ἐστάθηκαν καὶ ἐμειναν ἔκφοβοι, [ἐνα μὲν βλέποντας τὸ θύσιο τοῦ δὸν Κισότη καὶ ἄλλο ἀκούοντας τὰ λόγια ὃποι τοὺς ἔλεγε], καὶ τὸν ἀποκρίθηκαν.

18th c., Don Kis. 50.3-6

(85) The enclitic ("second-position") connective δέ "and/but" is also used to link both independent sentences in a discourse and clauses with parallel function in a single sentence.

Between independent sentences the choice between additive and contrastive meaning is context-dependent; between clauses in a single sentence the meaning is more often contrastive.

Δέ is particularly frequent in the combination εἰ δέ (μή) "and/but if (not)" (the negative version is also used as a lexicalized phrase = "otherwise").

Δέ may also be combined with the definite article in pronominal sense, e.g. ὁ δέ "and/but he" etc., which may in turn be clarified by an appositive NP, e.g. ὁ δέ [ό X] etc.; in rather more literary texts, ὁ δέ etc. is sometimes paired contrastively with a preceding ὁ μέν etc. "the one ... ((while) the other ...)".

Ὕπατε, παραλάβετε, ἀμόλυντον κοράσιον ἐγώ δέ διὰ τὰ κάλλη της καὶ τὴν πολλήν εὐγένειαν ἀρνοῦμαι καὶ τὴν πίστι μου καὶ τὴν πολλήν μου δόξαν

15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 174-6

δ ἀδελφός μου ... ἐπῆγεν, τὸν "Ἐρμοναν ἀνέδραμεν καὶ τὸν Ζυγὸν ἐπίασεν, τὴν δὲ Ἀρμενίαν ἔξηλειψεν, πολὺν κακὸν ἐποίησεν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 261–3

εἰ δὲ ἀγαπᾶς την περισσά, τέκνον, ώσάν μοῦ λέγουν, ἔπαρε καὶ αὔτην μετὰ ἑσέναν 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 282–3

εἰ δὲ περάσῃ δικαιός ... κι ούδεν ἀπέλθῃ ἐδῶ κανεὶς τὴν ἀφεντίαν νὰ ἐπάρῃ, θέλω γάρ ... νὰ μείνης κύριος ἀπ' ἔμοι 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1883–6

ὅτι ἐκ τοὺς μῆνας δώδεκα ... νὰ ἐκπληρώνῃ δικαῖα εἰς τοὺς τέσσαρους γάρ μῆνας εἰς γαρνιζοῦν καθολικήν ... τοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τέσσαρους νὰ ἀπέρχεται εἰς φουσσάτο, ... τὸ δὲ τὸ τρίτον τοῦ χρονοῦ ... ὀφείλει δικαίωνας νὰ ἔνι δπου θέλει. 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 1995–2001

καὶ ἐμεῖναν δ' σταυροί. Τὸν δὲ σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀφῆκεν τὸν εἰς τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἀγίων μὲ πολλὸν χρυσὸν καὶ μαργαριτάριν, καὶ πέτρες. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 6.7–9

Ἡ δὲ ἡ ρήγαινα ἐκάτζεν εἰς τὸν ἡλιακὸν εἰς τὸ διάβαν τοὺς καβαλλάριδες 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 50.12–13

ὁ κύριος οἶδεν διτι τῷρα τὰ ἔγροικησα τοῦτα τὰ λογία, δὲ δὲ δούλτανος μὲ πολλὴν χαρὰν καὶ πολλὴν ἀγάπην ἐστερέωσεν καὶ ἐβεβαίωσεν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγάπην. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 294.9–12

Ἄνισῶς καὶ δὲν ἡξεύρῃ τίποτε, δις πάγη ἀκαταζήτητος, εἰ δὲ καὶ ξεύρῃ, νὰ τοῦ δώσουν θάνατον. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 300.4–6

ἀπὸ τὸν φόβον ἐπιάννασιν τὰ μαρμαρένα πιλερία ..., οἱ δὲ κεῖνοι ... καὶ κόββαν τὰ χέργια τους, καὶ ἐπέφταν καὶ σκοτώνουνταν. 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 314.4–8

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐφουρκίσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκόψαν τὲς μοῦττες τους 16th c./15th c., *MACHAIRAS, Chron. V* 674.14

ἐστελιανε τὸν τζαούση μαντατοφόρο εἰς τὸν Μπαγιαζίτη, διτι νὰ δώσῃ τὰ κάστρη ..., εἴτε δὲ καὶ δὲν τὰ ἐπιστρέψῃ, τὸν ἔχει διὰ ἐκθρόν 17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soutl.* 38.7–9

NOTES

- (i) There are many examples of elliptical clausal conjunction involving ώσαύτως/ώσπερ/καθώς καὶ ("just) as also ... ", where the connection is properly comparative/equative rather than simply additive, though the meaning slips easily into "and also" in many cases:

οὐκ ἡμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἀνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα ... τοῦ ρῆγα, ...
ώσαύτως (οὐκ ἡμπορῶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἀνευ βουλῆς καὶ θέλημα) καὶ τῆς ρήγαινας 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 242–6

[τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχόντισσας μαντάμα Μαργαρίτας νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλὸ] [ώσπερ (νὰ κρατήσετε καλὸ) καὶ τὸ τῆς κούρτης] 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7545–6

ἐτοῦτα μὲν εἴπεν διαστρολόγος, καθὼς πρωτύτερας (εἴπεν) καὶ διὰ Βαλαάμ 17th c., *VENETZAS, Varl. & Iosas.* 38.26

- (ii) Coordination between two clauses (with or without ellipsis) may also be achieved through the use of δχι μόνο(ν) ... δλλάδ/δμτή/μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ... "not only ... but also ... "; ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν δλον καὶ δύχι μόνον (ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν δλον) ὑπὸ ἀνέμου, δμτή καὶ (ἐπλάκωσεν τὸν λαὸν δλον) ὑπὸ νεροῦ, δτι ἔξήχυσεν δ ποταμός καὶ ἐπνιξεν χιλιάδας ν' καὶ β' 1326, Cyprus, *DARROUZÈS* 1953: 41, 93.7–9
καὶ ἔναι ἐντροπή μεγάλη· καὶ δχι μόνον ἐντροπήν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ζημία 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 2773–4
- (iii) Absence of formal coordination ("asyndeton") is a standard option between all but the last pair of a series of three or more coordinated clauses, though it is not uncommon, especially in verse, for coordination to be left unmarked throughout:
ἵμουν παιδίν, ἔγήρασα, πολὺν διῆλθον κόσμον, σοφῶν ἀρχαίων ἥκουσα, πολλὰς ἀνέγνων βίβλους, πάντων ἐν πείρᾳ γέγονα, πᾶσαν ὅδὸν ἔξευρον, πλάσματα πάλιν μυθικὰ καὶ λόγους γραΐδων ἥκριβωσάμην 13th c./12th c., *GLYKAS, Stichoi* 1–5
- πίνει τα καὶ ἐρεύγεται, κιρνοῦν τον ἄλλον ἔνα, καὶ παρευθύν ύπόδημαν ἔγειρει καὶ πετσώνει 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 123–4
- θέλω νὰ ἀφηγήσωμαι περὶ τὸν Μέγαν Κύρην, ... δπου ἥτον δοῦκας Ἀθηνῶν, καλὸς ἀφέντης ἥτον 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7958–60
- ἄν στραφῇ εἰς τὴν Φραγκίαν, ἄν ούδεν ποιήσῃ ἔργον νὰ μείνῃ εἰς τὴν Ρωμανίαν νὰ εύρῃ οἰκονομίαν του, δλοι τὸν θέλουσι γελά, μέμφεσται κι ὀνειδίζει 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 8183–5
- εἰς τὸ καράβι σύντομα ἐσέβηκεν, ύπάγει ... τόσα ἐπλευσαν, τόσα ἐποικαν, φθάνουν τὴν Σαλαμίναν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1383–5
- Ἔλα μέσα, ίδες με 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 331.5
- (iv) When, after a negative proposition, a conjoined clause is also negated, ούδε/μηδὲ "and not" are regularly used, though disjunctive οὔτε/μήτε "nor" are sometimes used instead, especially in more popular registers (the two meanings are barely distinct in negative environments); there is also some evidence in later texts of uncertainty regarding the choice of ούδε/οὔτε vs. μηδέ/μήτε:
μὴ οὖν ἀποχωρίσης τους, μηδὲ ἀποπέμψης μᾶλλον 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 12
οὐκ εἶδα εἰς τὸ δακτύλιν μου κρικέλλιν δακτυλίδιν, ούδε βραχιόλιν μὲ ἔφερες ποτὲ νὰ τὸ φορέσω 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 51–2
- ἔκεῖνοι ούδεν τοῦ ἐποίκασιν τίποτε πονηρίαν, ούτε ἀνυπολήπτησαν τὸν βασιλέαν κάνολας 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 5266–7
- θάνατον οὐλκ ἐψήφησα ποτὲ εἰς τὴν ζωὴν μου, ούδε ἔλεγα [νὰ χωριστῇ ψυχὴ ἐκ τὸ κορμίν μου] 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 57–8
- οὶ μάμμες ἐστεκαν ἔξω ἀπὸ τὸ σπήλαιον καὶ δὲν ἥβλεπταν, μήτε ἡμποροῦσαν νὰ σεβοῦν μέσα εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον ἀπὸ τὴν πολλὴν λάμψιν 16th c., *KARTANOS, P&N Diath.* 329.24–6

- τὰ πάθη της δὲ γνώθουσι, οὐδὲ τὰ κουρφά της ἐνιῶσα καὶ λέν πώς τό 'χει φυσικό
ν' ἀδυναμίσῃ τόσα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.35–6
- τῆς κόρης δέν της ἀγγιξεν, οὐδὲ ἐπείραξέν την 17th c., PETRITSIS, *Dig.* O 2373
- (v) For the “subordinating” use of the conjunction καὶ, see Chapter 2, Rules (23), (27) and (29) (under *Verbs of Aspectual Specification*, NOTE (ii)).

7.1.2 Contrastive and Disjunctive Clausal Coordination

- (86) To emphasize a clearly contrastive/adversative connection between sentences or clauses (= “but”, “however”) ἀλλά, ἀμ(μ)ή/ἀμ(μ)έ/μά, δμως and πλήν are used; δμως only links independent sentences, but the remaining conjunctions are also used to connect clauses within a sentence.

Διπή δεσμά καὶ βάσανα καὶ φυλακάς καὶ πύργους, Βαράγγους ἀ[λαλά]ζοντας καὶ ὁ
φόβος ἔξυπνῷ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 169–70

Ομως ἔγώ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δόξαν οὐδέν εύρισκω εἰς ἐμέν ...
τοσούτην ἀδιάκρισιν, νὰ μὴ τὸ ἐγνωρίζω ὅτι 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 947–9

μὴ ἀκριβευτῇ, δκνήσῃ το, μὴ ὅλως τὸ ἀμελέσῃ, ἀλλά ἃς βιαστῇ μὲ προθυμίαν τὸν
τόπον νὰ κερδίσῃ 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 4566–7

Ἄλλα ἀφότου ἀλλαζεν τοῦ πρίγκιπος ἡ ἀφεντία, καὶ ἥλθαμεν στὴν ἀφεντίαν τοῦ
ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ρῆγα, ἐὰν εἴχαμεν τὴν δύναμιν νὰ ἐποιήσαμεν τὸ ὄματζιον!
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7908–10

Ομως ἃς λείψουν τὰ πολλά, ἐὰν ἔν τὸ θέλημά σου 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7916
τίποτε δὲν σας θέλουν ὠφελήσει (τῶν Φραγγῶν τὰ λόγια), πλὴν θέλουν σας χαλάσει,
καθὼς ἔχαλάσασιν καὶ τοὺς θεσσαλονικαίους 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.15–16

Ομως τοῦτο θέλομεν τὸ σκεφθῆ ἀντάμα, καὶ θέλομεν ποιήσει τὸ κάλλιον
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.5–6

δὲν σᾶς τὸ ἔγραψα ὅτι πώς νὰ πορνεύετε, ἀμή διὰ νὰ μήν ἀπελτίζεται τινάς κάν
άμαρτωλός πολλά καὶ ἀν ἔναι, ἀλλά νὰ σπουδάζῃ νὰ κάνῃ ἐλεμοσύνην
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 415.21–4

Ομως δὲν διδοῦμεν ἀφορμήν τινος καὶ σκούζαν νὰ μὲν δίδῃ ψυχικά, ἐλεημοσύνην,
ἀπού ζῶντά του, ἀμψὲ νὰ τὰ φυλάγῃ ἀποθανόντα του 16th c., *Pist. kekoim.* 499–501

δὲν ἥτον φῶς καθαρόν, ἀμή ἥτον ωσάν ἀντάρα
16th c., PAPA-LAVR., *Diigisis* (Meteoron) 107.30–1

Μὰ εἶν' τὸ πρεπό ... νὰ σᾶσε φανερώσω ποιὸς εἴμαι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSISS, *Panor. Prol. Apoll.* 9–10

δὲν είδα νὰ σταθῇ τὸν ἥλιο νὰ μ' ἀκούσῃ, μὰ είδα χαράκια καὶ δεντρά πολλὰ ν'
ἀνασπαστοῦσι, νὰ φεύγου 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSISS, *Panor.* I.73–5

Άμ' δῆην ὥραν ἥβλεπεν ἐκεῖνο πού τὴν κρίνει, οἱ λογισμοὶ κ' οἱ πόνοι της τοῦ κάνων
καλοσύνη, μὰ σὰν τὸν εἶχε στερευτῇ, περίσσα ἑτυραννᾶτο κι ὅλη ἔξαναμαλάσσετο
κι ὅλη ἔξαναγεννᾶτο 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, *Erot.* III.19–22

Πλὴν φαίνεται τωνε πώς είναι μίαν σκλαβίαν νὰ είναι εἰς τὴν ὑποταγὴν τοῦ κοινοβίου
1615, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 6, 174.12–13

- (87) Disjunctive clausal coordination is expressed positively by (εἴτε ...) εἴτε ... /
(ἢ ...) ἢ ... “(either ...) or ...” (also οὐ in Cyprus, γή/δ in Crete, ὅβερ in the
Cyclades etc.), and negatively by οὔτε ... οὔτε ... /μήτε ... μήτε ... “neither
... nor ...”; οὐδέ/μηδέ “and not” may be substituted when the sense is clearly
additive (cf. NOTE (iv) above), though this also occurs occasionally when the
meaning is disjunctive.

For the single use of οὔτε/μήτε, see again NOTE (iv) above.

In later texts there is evidence of uncertainty regarding the choice between οὐ and μή in
these elements.

When forms of θέλω are contrasted in formulaic expressions of the type “(whether I/
you) like it or not”, the conjunction is normally omitted (θέλεις ... θέλεις ... can be used to
mean simply “whether ... or ...”):

Θέλω οὐ Θέλω γίνομαι καὶ τὸ μωροῦ σαμάριν 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 558
ἐννόμους δὲ γάμους πληροῦσιν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι, ὅταν είναι ὁ ἀνθρωπος χρόνων ιδ' καὶ
ἄνωθεν, ὅμοιως καὶ ἡ γυναίκα νὰ είναι χρόνων ιβ' καὶ ἄνωθεν, Θέλεις αὐτεξούσιοι
Θέλεις ὑπεξούσιοι ca. 1300, Cyprus, MARUHN 1981: 238.400–2

Positive

ἡντεστάθην, ὅταν τὸ ἤκουσα εἴτε ἐθεώρουν τινάς, ὅτι ἐκρατοῦσαν το
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–6

τὸ μεγαλογράμματον ἴματιν τὸ κυνηγάτον ἢ χάρισον ἢ πώλησον ἢ δός ὅποι κελεύει
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. I 60–1

ἔκεινον τὸ πρᾶγμαν εἴχαν το πάρειν, οὐ είχαν το σύρειν εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς Σαρακηνούς
15th c./?13th c., *Assizes B* 424.9

ἄσ' τα αὐτὰ τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ δές νὰ μοῦ βοηθήσης, γὴ ἀποθαμένος βρίσκομαι
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSISS, Katz. III.111–12

νὰ ἔρθει εἰς τέρμενο μέρες τρεῖς ἐρχόμενες νὰ τὰ ἐμολογήσει, ὅ νὰ τὰ φέρουσι στὸν
τόπο τως 1664, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 7, 417.16–17

ἀνίσως καὶ λάβῃ τὰ ἄνωθεν γρόσα καλά, ὅβερ καὶ τὰ ἄνωθεν γρόσα δὲν λάβῃ
1686, Mykonos, KATSOUROS 1948: 8, 21.6–7

NOTE

- (i) In examples where the first clause contains an imperative and the second an indicative verb, such as the *Katzourbos* example above (ἄσ' τα αὐτὰ τὰ φαγητὰ καὶ δές νὰ μοῦ βοηθήσης, γὴ ἀποθαμένος βρίσκομαι), the disjunctive element implies “if you don't (do as I ask)”, and may often be translated “or else”.

Negative

δμνέω ... ὅτι νὰ μὴν δὲν ἔχετε κανέναν φόβον ... μήτε ἐκκλησίας νὰ χαλάσωμεν, μήτε
μασγίδι νὰ ποιήσωμεν 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17–22

νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρῃ περισσότερο ἀπού τὰ καὶ μουζούρια τὸ στάρι ὁ ἄνωθεν ἀφέντης Νικολός, οὐδὲ κεῖνος (νὰ [μή] μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρῃ περισσότερο) οὐδὲ τὰ παιδία του (νὰ [μή] μποροῦν νὰ τῶνε πάρουν περισσότερο)

1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10-12

εἰ μὲν ... καὶ ἀποθάνῃ τὸ παιδί ... καὶ μείνῃ ἄκλητη, νὰ μὴν ἡμιμπορεῖ ἀπὸ τὴν πουρκὶν ... μήτε νὰ πουλήσῃν, μήτε νὰ χαρίσῃν, μήτε νὰ πουρκοδοτήσῃν, μήτε διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς νὰ κάμῃ [παρὰ μόνον δύο πρόθεσες νὰ δώνῃ διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς]

1680, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 31, 180.14-21

Ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἡ εὔμορφία εἰς μίαν τιμημένην γυναίκα εἶναι ὡσάν τὴν μακρινὴν φωτίαν ἢ ὡσάν ἔνα κοπτερὸν σπαθί, ὅπου μήτε αὐτὸς κόπτει μήτε ἐκείνη καὶ εἰ ὅποιον δὲν πλησιάσει αὐτά

18th c., Don Kis. 91.25-8

τόσον ἐκαταπείσθη πώς ἐκεῖνοι ἡτον γίγαντες, ὅπου οὔτε ἄκουε τές φωνὲς τοῦ ὁπλοφόρου του, μήτε τοὺς ἔγνωριζε, ἀγκαλὰ καὶ νὰ εἴχε πλησιάσει

18th c., Don Kis. 45.20-2

7.1.3 Other Constituents

(88) Sub-clausal constituents of all kinds may be coordinated in similar ways, provided that the elements involved are of the same syntactic category.

With predicative expressions (e.g. after the verb “to be”), however, it is not necessary for the coordinated elements to be categorically identical; the functional equivalence is sufficient.

As noted above, it may be difficult to decide in particular cases whether we are dealing with true constituent coordination or coordination of clauses with ellipsis in the second conjunct.

Additive ((καὶ ...) καὶ ... “(both ...) and ... ”)

NP Coordination

οὐκ ἡμιπορᾶ ἀπόκρισιν νὰ ποιήσω ἄνευ [βουλῆς] καὶ [θέλημα τοῦ ἀφέντου μου τοῦ ρῆγα], ὅπου ἔχω [ἀφέντην] καὶ [γαβρόν] 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 243-5

ὅρκῶ ... [ἐσὲν] κι [ὅσοι καθέζονται μετά σὲ ἐδῶ εἰς τὴν κούρτην], τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχόντισσας ... νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7543-6

ἔγενηνήθηκεν ἀπὸ μίαν παρθένον ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅποιος ἔναι αὐθέντης [τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] καὶ [τῆς γῆς] καὶ [τῆς θαλάσσου] καὶ [πάσης κτίσεως] 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 335.1-3

VP Coordination

[κούρσῃ ἡπήρασιν πολλά], [ἐπίασαν καὶ ἀνθρώπους], καὶ [ἐστράφησαν ἐσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἄγιαν Μαύραν] 15th c., Chron. Toc. 166-7

[πέψε φέρε ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλοὺς καβαλλάρους ψουμάτους] καὶ [ποιῆσε ἀβιτζιάλιδες] 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 22.24-5

AdjP Coordination

ἄς ἦτον [μέγας] καὶ [εὐγενῆς] κ' εἶχε πολὺ λογάριν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8072

τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῇ ιδ' μαρτίου απὸ τὸ Χριστοῦ ... οἱ [ἐντιμότατοι] καὶ [φρονιμώτατοι] ἀνθρώποι ... ἥλθαν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ρηγός 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 504.40-506.4

PP Coordination

ὅρκῶ σε [κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ] καὶ [εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπάνω] ... τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀρχόντισσας ... νὰ τὸ κρατήσετε καλὰ 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7543-6

μοίρασε τὸ ρηγάτον σου [εἰς αὐτόν σου] καὶ [εἰς αὐτόν τους] 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 22.26

Coordination of Predicative Expressions

ῷμοισε ὁ μπάιλος ... καὶ τότε οἱ λίζιοι ἀνθρώποι, νὰ εἴναι [δοῦλοι] καὶ [πιστοί ...]

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7930-1

NOTES

(i) The AG combination ... τε καὶ ... “both ... and ... ” is confined almost entirely to the poetic formula/cliché μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι “young and old”:

βουλὴν ἀπῆραν ἐνομοῦ μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 906

(ii) The content of an expression may be rendered more precise by appending a “both-and” specification, cf. “the human beings, both men and women”; this is common in legal texts, where the relevant meaning is often expressed in the form ἔτσι/τόσον (καὶ) ..., ὡσάν καὶ ... “just as ..., so also ... ”:

καὶ ἀνὶ φυτέψῃ καὶ ἀλλα νὰ κάνου καρπό, [ἔτσι ἀπὸ τὰ παλιὰ] ὡσάν καὶ τὰ νιά, νὰ παίρνῃ <δ> ἀφεντότοπος τὰ μισά καὶ ὁ κοπιαστής τὰ ἄλλα μισά, [ἔτσι καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ ἀμπέλι] ὡσάν καὶ ἀπὸ τὸ χωράφι] 1596, Naxos, KARABOULA/RODOLAKIS 2012/13: 154, 279.10-13

ξεκαθαρίζοντας ἀκομή ἀν ἔναι καὶ κιανένα καιρὸ δὲν τοῦ θέλασι δώσει τὸ στάρι, νὰ μπορῇ, ἃ δὲν εύρῃ ἀλλο τίβοτας νὰ πλερωθῇ, νὰ πιάνῃ τὰ ὅξα τῶνε, [ἴτσι χοντρά] ὡσάν καὶ λιανά] 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.14-16

ὅποιος ἤθελεν ἀλληλοήσει ἀπὸ τὸ δύο, τόσον ὁ ἔνας ὡσάν καὶ τὸν ἄλλο, νὰ μπορῇ νὰ δίδῃ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ ὑπέρπτυρα ρ' 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 8, 30.11-12

If a negative meaning is required, οὔτε/μήτε ... οὔτε/μήτε ... “neither ... nor ... ” are used, with some fluctuation between initial οὐ- and μή- (see under *Disjunctive constituent coordination (negative)* below):

ἡτον μέλας, ἥγουν μελαιψός, μήτε [τόσον μαύρος] μήτε [τόσον ἄσπρος] 16th c., Vios Aisop. K 147.10

τώρα δὲν εύρισκομαι νὰ ἔχω τίβοτις, μήτε σολδία, μήτε ροῦχα 1643, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1960: 3, 3.10

- (iii) When the sense is clearly negative-additive ("and not") οὐδέ/μηδέ are normally used, though there are overlaps with οὔτε/μήτε "nor" (cf. NOTE (iv) above and *Disjunctive constituent coordination* (negative) below):

ἥξευρε, ἀθλία, δτι ὁ υἱός μας δὲν ἀπέθανεν οὐδὲ ἐσάπη εἰς τὸν τάφον
16th c., PAPΑ-LAVR., *Digisisis* (Meteoron) 106.31-2

- (iv) Constituent coordination, like clausal coordination, may be asyndetic:

[ἔδραμεν] [ἐκούρσευσεν χωρία καὶ κατοῦνες διὰ θαλάσσου καὶ ξηρᾶς] ... κ'
[ἐστράφησαν] [ἐσώθησαν εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Μαύραν] 15th c., *Chron. Toc.* 163-7
[πέψε] [φέρε] ἀπὸ τοὺς φίλους σου καὶ ἀπὲ τὴν πίστιν σου καλούς καβαλλάρους
ψουμάτους 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 22.24-5
νὰ είναι ὁ ἄνωθεν κυρ-Τζανής ... νοικοκύρης εἰς τὰ ἄνωθεν πράματα, [πουλεῖν],
[χαρίζειν], [προικίζειν], [πτοιεῖν ὡς βούλεται]
1604, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 211, 216.18

Adversative

This is expressed by ἀλλά/ἀμ(μ)ή/μά etc.:

ἀρνεῖσαι τὸν Χριστὸν μὰ ὅχι τὴν μητέρα του 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 165.14
ἐκτηρύττασιν ὅχι μὲ φόβον τινὰν τὸ δνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀμή μὲ μεγάλον θάρρος καὶ
παρρησίαν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 32.10-11

Disjunctive

Positive

Positive disjunctive constituent coordination is expressed by (εἴτε ...) εἴτε ... / (ἢ ...) ἢ ... "either ..." or ..." (also οὐ in Cyprus, γή/δ in Crete etc.):

ἔμεν ποτὲ οὐκ ἐπήντησε στρατηγὸς ἢ τοπάρχης 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 149
περὶ τοῦ δούλου οὖ τῆς δούλης ὅποιού φέρει τὸν αὐθέντην του εἰς ἀγκάλεμαν, τίνα
ἔμπαινει νὰ δώσῃ 16th c./?13th c., Cyprus, *Assizes A* 5.1-2
τὶς νὰ πιστέψῃ εἰς Ρωμαῖον εἰς λόγον εἴτε εἰς δρκον; 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 758
μηνοῦμε σας ὅτι ... μηδὲν σουφρίάσετε κανένα μας δοφισάλην ... νὰ τρεμεντιαστῇ εἰς
καμία ἀγορὰ σιταρίου, οὐ κριθαρίου, οὐ κρασίου οὐ καμίας ἀλλῆς ρέντας
1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPULLOS 1983: 7, 7.1-4
κι' ἢ δῆς τὴν Πιουλισένα γὰ τὴν Ἄννούσα, πές τους το νὰ σοῦ τὸ ποῦν ἐσένα
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.147-8

νὰ μὴν ἔχῃ ἔξουσίαν ποτὲ καιροῖς κανένας, ἢ ἀπὸ τὴν μεγάλην Μέσην ἢ ἀπὸ
μοναστήρι, νὰ τοὺς ἐνοχλήσῃ 1661, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 71, 200.13-14
ἐγών δὲ θέλω ἀφήσων κανέναν νὰ σιμώσῃ εἰσὲ ἀλώνι τῆς ἢ σὲ πατητήριν τῆς
1688, Naxos, SIFONIOU-KARAPA et al. 1982/83: 743, 1013.12-13

Negative

In negative contexts οὔτε/μήτε ... οὔτε/μήτε ... "neither ... nor ..." are used, with fluctuation between initial οὔ- and μή-; the final οὔτε/μήτε of a series may be supported by ἀλλά (i.e. with disjunctive rather than strictly adversative meaning), or be replaced by οὐδέ/μηδέ in the emphatic sense of "not/nor even":

ὅτι ὅποιον κάστρο καὶ χώρα προσκυνήσῃ μὲ τὸ καλόν, νὰ μηδέν ἔχῃ [κανέναν
φόβον], οὔτε [κακόν], οὔτε [κουρσεμόν], ἀλλ' οὔτε [κανέναν χαλασμόν]
1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.10-12

δομέω σας ... δτι νὰ μὴν δὲν ἔχετε [κανέναν φόβον], μήτε [αἰχμαλωτισμόν], μήτε
[πιασμὸν παιδίων] 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.17-21

δὲν εἶχε μήτε στρουμέντο μηδὲ στιμαριστᾶς 1657, Mykonos, VISVIZIS 1957: 4, 51.11

7.2 Apposition

7.2.1 Appositive Clauses

(89) An appositive clause may be used to expand/clarify the content of a NP headed by an abstract noun with a non-specific but potentially propositional denotation, cf. "the news/the theory/the fact [that ...]".

Unlike relative clauses, appositives are not descriptive of their antecedents but stand in an equative relationship with them, i.e. the content of the clause *is* the news/the theory/the fact etc.; their presence is justified to the extent that they add contextually relevant detail to a largely uninformative expression.

A common variant is the use of a cataphoric pronominal in place of the abstract noun, cf. "I will tell you this (*sc. news etc.*), that ..."

A range of clause types is attested, largely reflecting the semantics of the antecedent (e.g. factive vs. non-factive, statement vs. question etc.), and καὶ is sometimes substituted as the linking element. It is often impossible to distinguish what are in principle optional appositives (pragmatically helpful in particular contexts) from complement clauses (semantically presupposed by the antecedent even if not overtly represented). In the examples below, the "namely"-relation characteristic of appositives is reflected in the use of a comma after the head noun, though this is really no more than editorial interpretation (cf. 2.2 and 5.2.3 for further discussion, and see 5.2.3 for parallel examples treated as complements).

τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην ἔγραψεν αὐστηράς γραφάς, ἀναδιδάσκων τὸ δίκαιον, ὅτι [οὐκ
ἐστιν ὁ ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος Ἀντιοχείας ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως]
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 822.33-5

τί τοῦτο, δτι [ἐπαινῶ τοὺς χειροτεχναρίους] 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch.* III 188

ὁ λουτριάρχης, ἔστοντας νὰ ἴδει ἔτοῦτο, δτι [κακὸν ἦτον τοῦτο τὸ πάθος], ἔκλαιεν
αὐτὸν 16th c./15th c., *Syndipas* 116.13-14

τοῦτον ἦτον ἡ ἀφορμή, καὶ [δρυγὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐππεσεν ἀπάνω τους]
16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 16.12-13

- ἔθαύμασεν δὲ Δάρειος σὺ Ἀλέξανδρου τὴν γνῶσιν, ποὺ [τὸν ἐβάσταξε καρδιὰ σὺ
ἀποκοτία τὴν τόσην]
16th c., Alex. Rim. 1191-2
- τοῦτο ήτονε μέγα θαῦμα περισσότερον παρὰ ὅλα, ὅπού [ἥ κιβωτὸς ... ήτονε τότες
εἰς τὴν γέννησιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παλαιὰ καὶ χαλασμένη]
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 333.27-28, 31-2
- ἔκαμεν ὅρκον, ὅτι [ἥ παραίτησις στανικῶς αὐτοῦ ἔγένετο] καὶ ὅτι [... εἴδησιν δὲν
ἥξευρε]
16th c., Chron. Ps.-Doroth. (1572) 178-80
- τι νὰ λέγω τὰ πολλὰ ὅπού δὲν κάμνουν χρεῖα, ποὺ [ἥ γῆς ἐπορφυρώθηκεν ἐκ τὰ
πολλὰ κορμία;]
17th c., DIAKR., Diig. Pol. 283-4

7.2.2 Appositive NPs

- (90) One NP (the appositive) may be juxtaposed to a preceding NP (the antecedent) to form a construction in which the second modifies the first; the two NPs agree in case and have the same referent.

Non-restrictive Apposition

If the appositive element has a non-restrictive function, it functions much like a non-restrictive relative clause (see 5.3.3, Rule (79)), and may be understood according to context as ascribing an ancillary property to the antecedent (i.e. as descriptive: "NP, [who is also/incidentally] a/the X"), or as clarifying the identity of the referent (i.e. as epexegetic: "NP, [namely/specifically] a/the X"); in many cases either reading is possible. The antecedent and the appositive may, independently of one another, be either definite or indefinite:

- ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενήν Ἀκρίτην
15th c./?12th c., Dig. E 219
- θαρρῶν ὅτι ἄλλον δεύτερον πατέρα νὰ γνωρίσῃ, τὸν μέγαν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ
πενθερὸν ἐσέναν
?12th c. or 13th-14th c., Eisit. f.8v.17-20
- ἔπειτι ἐπαρεκάλεσα τὸν παναγιώτατον ἡμῶν δεσπότην, τὸν οἰκουμενικὸν
πατριάρχην
1357/60, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 237, 364-365.1-3
- εἰς ἄρχων ἐστειλε τὸν δοῦλον του, νὰ τὸν ἀγοράσῃ πουλιά γενεὲς τρεῖς, περιστέρια,
τρυγόνια καὶ σπουργῆτες
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 53, 44.1-2
- ἔγω σοῦ ἔφερα δύο μάμμες, τὴν Σαλώμην καὶ τὴν Γελάμην, καὶ στέκουν ἔξω
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 329.27-8
- ὅσοι ... ἐπιθυμοῦσι νὰ γένουν πατέρες ἐνδόξων ... παιδίων, συμβουλεύσει τους
ἥθελα νὰ μὴ συμμίξουν μὲ ὅποιαν τύχη γυναῖκα, πόρνην λέγω, πολιτικὴν ἢ
παλλακῆν
16th c., SOFIANOS, Paidag. 95.9-11
- ἔπειδὴ ἡ ὁσιότατη μοναχὴ κερα Μακαρία Κουκάκαινα, ἡ ἡγουμένη καὶ οἰκοκυρά
τοῦ μοναστηρίου τοῦ μεγάλου Γεωργίου τοῦ Κερατίδιώτου, εύρισκεται ὀχαμά
1596, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 1, 164.2-4
- δμὴ εἶχεν ἔναν τίποτες ὅπού τοῦ ἔκοπτε τὴν χαράν καὶ εὐφροσύνη, τὸ κακὸν τῆς
ἀπαιδίας
17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ioas. 31.35-8

ρίχνοντας ἀπὸ τὸν ούρανὸν φωτιές καὶ ὀστροπελέκια, ποὺ νὰ σὲ κατακάψουνε μαζὶ μὲ
τὴν παλλακή, τὴν μιαρότατη τοῦ Σατανᾶ φιλενάδα

18th c., EFTHYM., Chron. Gal. 26.7-10

Restrictive Apposition

A restrictive appositive NP is similar in function to a restrictive relative clause (see 5.3.3, Rule (78)). But when a definite antecedent is modified in this way, the appositive too must be definite (cf. *my brother *a/the doctor*), i.e. its specific purpose is to identify the intended member of the already definite set of individuals potentially denoted by the antecedent (e.g. "my brother who is the doctor, not the one who is the lawyer" etc.). Accordingly, the definite article is normally used in both parts of this construction in LMedG/EMG, though it is sometimes omitted with proper names (see 5.3.2 for further discussion).

By contrast, indefinite restrictive apposition requires a predicative reading of the appositive, of the type "[an X] [(who is (a)) Y]"; NPs in predicative function standardly appear without an indefinite article (see 5.3.2, Rule (76) NOTE (i)).

Definite

ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸ διγοράν ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Καλημέρην καὶ τὴν νύφην αὐτοῦ τὴν
Μαρίαν
ca. 1270, Athos, BOPPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27-8

καὶ νὰ ἴδωσιν τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἀποκρισιάρους
15th c./14th c., Diig. tetr. 46

ἔχαρισαμε τοῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ τσαμπερλάνο_υ τοῦ δουλευτῆ μας τὸ κοπέλι
1468, Nicosia, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULLOS 1983: 72, 36.1

καὶ φαμιλικῶς εύρισκομένων εἰς κάστρον ἐν τῶν ἐκεῖσε κεφαλατεύοντες ὁ γαμβρός
μου Γρηγόριος ὁ Παλαιολόγος ὁ Μαμωνᾶς ... ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀδελφή μου καὶ γυνὴ
αὐτοῦ καὶ παιδίν ἐν αὐτῶν θῆλυ
15th c., SFRANTZIS, Chron. 12.2-4

χρωστάει μου ἡ κυρά Ἀγγέλω ἡ κονιάδα μου ἡ Κοτομανόλαινα δουκάτα ἐφθά (=
ἔφτά)
1637, Ithaca, ZAPANDI 2002b: 91, 96.44-5

Indefinite

Ιανουάριος ἥτον ἀπ' αὐτὸν νὰ στήκεται καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ἀνθρωπὸς ὅλος κυνηγός, ὅλος
θαρσὺς τὸ σχῆμα
14th-15th c./13th c., Liv. a 1179-80

εἶχαμεν φίλον κηπουρὸν καὶ δίδαμέν του γέννημαν καὶ ἔδιδέν μας λάχανα
16th c./?, Paroim. H 10

καὶ ἀν μὲ δῆ ὅτι νὰ μιλήσω, γραῖαν γυναῖκα νὰ ἀγαπήσω, λέγει
16th c., Epain. gyn. 469-71

NOTES

- (i) A special form of restrictive apposition occurs when the antecedent identifies a conventional measure, or a container serving as a measure, and the appositive specifies the material or substance that is "measured" or "contained". In LMedG/EMG this construction has largely supplanted the common AG use of a partitive genitive, though there are a handful of early examples in the corpus, e.g. σίτου μόδια
ἢ Vios Philaret. 287 (11th c./9th c.):

Definite

- ἔδωκέ του τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὰ σεντούκια καὶ τὰ σακκία τὸν σιναπόσπορον
16th c./15th c., *Diig. Alex.* V 41.10-11
- εἰδὲ τὰ δλλα δυὸς βαρελια τοὺς ψαρογαύρους ἔδωκες ἀπὸ καιρὸν ἐμπίστως ἐνδὸς
Σφακιώτη 1549, Crete, DRAKAKIS 2004: 255, 253.10-11
- νὰ μὴ μπορῇ νὰ τῶνε πάρῃ περισσότερο ἀπὸ τὰ κζ' μουζούρια τὸ στάρι ὁ
ἄνωθεν ἀφέντης Νικολός 1597, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 5, 28.10-11
- ήγουν νὰ τοὺς ἀνακατογυρίσουν ἐκεῖνα τὰ βαρελια τὰ σῦκα
17th c., *Bertoldin.* 114.30-1

Indefinite

- δν γένη κτύπος πούποτε, μόδιν ἀγγέλους βλέπεις
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 149
- ὅποὺ ἐπούλησε τοὺς ἄνωθε Τρουγιανάδες ἐνα κομμάτι χωράφι
1582, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 159, 100.4-5
- ἔσοντας νὰ ἔκαμα μία μιργιά κερί 1697, Thessaloniki, KATSANIS 2012: 4, 60.1

(ii) Multi-part proper names also constitute a special case in that, though they too are regularly treated as combinations of antecedent and appositive (with the referential range of the first name restricted by what follows), they can also be analysed as forming a single NP. When definiteness is overtly marked, the former option normally requires a separate article in each element of the name:

ἔχω καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγοράν ἀπὸ τὸν Θεόδωρον τὸν Καλημέρην καὶ τὴν νύφην αὐτοῦ
τὴν Μαρίαν ca. 1270, Athos, BOMPAIRE 1964: 9A, 80.27-8

έρμασαν την μὲ τὸν ἀφέντην τὸν Μανουὴλ τὸν Κατακουζηνὸν, τὸν δεσπότην τοῦ
Μορέως 16th c./15th c., MACHAIROS, *Chron.* V 58.33-4

while the latter option requires only a single article to determine the name as a whole:

ἔτεκαν παῖδα θαυμαστόν, τὸν Διγενὴν Ἀκρίτην 15th c./?12th c., *Dig. E* 219
ἀπὸ κεὶ ἔστειλε 'ς τὸν Ἱωάννη βασιλέα Παλαιολόγο ὅπι ...
17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 25.11

(iii) Titles too may be treated either as referring expressions in their own right with the following name(s)/description(s) in apposition, or simply as part of the following name(s).

The appositive structure is more usual, and is regularly employed when the second element is further modified; the article is occasionally omitted from the antecedent/title:

ῷρᾳ δ' τῆς νυκτὸς ἔκοιμήθη δ' αυθέντης δ' κύρ δ' κούντης δ' σιρ Τούμας τὲ Μόρφ
1388, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 101, 99.1-3

ἔξεβη ἀμιράλλ(ης) δ' σιρ Πιέρ ντὲ Καφρό δπὲ τὴν Λευκωσίαν νὰ πάγη στὴν
Γένουβα διὰ τὸν σίὸν τοῦ ἀφέντη μας τοῦ ωγόδος τοῦ ρὲ Τζάκ
1390, Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 11, 89.1-3

μὲ τὸν μακαρίτην τὸν αὐθέντην τὸν πατέρα τους ἐσυντύχαμεν περὶ τούτου
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.11-12

The second option often involves titles with a colloquial quality, though this does not preclude their use in official documents; the article is sometimes omitted (as with names in general):

- μιστρὸ ΝΤΖΕΦΡΕΣ, ὡς φρόνιμος, παρηγορᾶ τὸν κόντον 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 177
δ' μιστρὸ ΝΤΖΕΦΡΕΣ, ὡς φρόνιμος ὅπου ἦτον, ἀρχισε νὰ τὸν παρηγορᾶ
14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 188-9
- ἐν μηνὶ αὔγούστῳ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ δέσποινα κυρά Ἄννα
15th c., SFRANTZIS, *Chron.* 12.22
- ἐρωτήξαμεν παπᾶ κύρ Γαβρήλ 1528, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 53, 173.47
- δ' κύρ Χατζῆς πεθερός μου σοῦ ἀφησε χρόνια εἰς τὴν Καβάγια
1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.10-11

8 Constituent Order

8.1 General Principles

As a matter of grammatical rule, it is assumed here that sentences in LMedG/EMG comprise a subject NP and a predicate VP in that order. But the *actual* order of constituents in a given sentence is to a large extent determined by the way in which a writer organizes and presents the information contained within it in order to articulate the structure of the larger discourse. In practice, therefore, once the fundamental syntactico-semantic requirements are met (i.e. through the presence of a subject, expressed or understood, and a predicate, optionally in combination with one or more adjuncts), the linear sequencing of constituents is largely controlled by considerations of “topic” and “focus”.

These concepts have been defined in a variety of ways, making reference to prosodic, pragmatic, semantic and/or syntactic factors. Constituents in LMedG/EMG clauses could almost certainly be marked as topical or focal simply by the choice of appropriate prosodic properties. But these factors are no longer accessible to us, though plausible inferences might be made from MG, e.g. that foci were assigned a high level of stress. Topics and foci are therefore identified here by virtue of their *syntactic* prominence, i.e. relocation to positions specifically associated with discourse functions (see below). Functionally, topics establish or re-establish a “theme” (something familiar from the preceding discourse, mutual knowledge or general cultural awareness), which is then commented on by the remainder of the following sentence. Foci, by contrast, identify the most salient, i.e. emphatic or contrastive, piece of information within a particular sentence. When both elements are present, the focus identifies the most salient information within the comment on the topic, thus making a topicalized element structurally more peripheral than a focalized one, cf. [_{TOP} in Medieval Greek], [_{FOC} it's the syntax] people find hardest.

Positions at the left periphery of LMedG/EMG phrases and clauses are structurally prominent and may attract phrasal topics and foci; in clauses there is also a topic position beyond the clause boundary (see Rule (91)). The *informationally* most neutral order of constituents in LMedG/EMG sentences with overt subjects is perhaps V(erb) S(ubject) Object(s)), where the fronting of the verb over the subject indicates that the sentence introduces a proposition in which none of its phrasal constituents is given any special prominence (= “something happened”: though V may be understood focally if appropriately stressed):

(ἐν τούτῳ) ἐπαράλαβεν ὁ Ροῦσος τὸ μπαΐλᾶτο

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7933

But it is often more natural to identify specific elements as providing some form of linkage to, or contrast with, the previous discourse: [VO]S order, for example, is the result of either topicalizing or focalizing the Verb Phrase by preposing it to the beginning of the

sentence, making the subject correspondingly either salient (“[_{TOP} the one who VO] was S”) or thematic (“[_{FOC} it was VO] that S did”) according to the demands of the context. In the following, for example, the preposed VP is topical, and the subject correspondingly salient:

δ βασιλέας τὸν ἔστελνεν ... τὸν τόπον δλον τοῦ Μορέως νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ κερδίσει, κι ἀν
μάθη ὅτι [ἐκέρδισαν τὸν πόλεμον] οἱ Φράγκοι ... πῶς νὰ τὸν ἀποδέξεται ... ;

14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4894–8

Since, however, the grammatically determined order of constituents is Subject + Predicate, with subjects standing preverbally prior to any informationally-driven reordering, it may be unclear in specific cases whether actual “preposing” of the subject has taken place when it is interpreted as topical or focal in context.

Whenever a phrase of any type (represented as XP below) is focalized, the verb is standardly “attracted” to it and the subject (if not itself the focalized item) appears postverbally, giving XP-V-S (cf. “never have~I seen ... ”). There is also attraction of the verb to preposed interrogative and relative adverbs or pronouns (cf. “what have~you done?”, cf. 1.4.1 and 5.3.3) and, in subordinate clauses, to many conjunctions and complementizers (subject to various conditions and limitations, see below and cf. Chapters 2 and 3). Attraction of the verb is not required, however, in the case of topics.

8.1.1 Topicalization

(91) **Topicality in MedG/EMG may be marked by “left-dislocation”, i.e. by placing a topic in a position beyond the left periphery of a clause and marking its lack of structural integration with a pause, usually represented graphically by a comma; when the topic is nominal, a referentially resumptive pronoun is normal in the following clause.**

Left-dislocated topics are typically used to establish or re-establish an entity as the current discourse theme and to initiate discussion of it. They may be thought of in terms of the schema [XP], [_S ... (pro) ...], where pro is an element anaphoric to the left-dislocated XP, expressing the “aboutness” link between the two elements. In the case of non-NP topics pro is usually null, but with NP topics it usually takes the form of a “resumptive” pronoun, e.g. (as for) Medieval Greek, I really like (it). With the passage of time, clitic pronouns become increasingly standard in this construction, and are inflected according to their grammatical function in the clause (usually direct or indirect object); but demonstratives are also used, and in the absence of suitable nominative clitics, topicalized subjects are often “resumed” in this way.

Left-dislocated NPs typically reflect the properties of pro in (person), number, gender and case, though they are also sometimes inflected in the nominative instead (*nominativus pendens*), perhaps in recognition of their “external”, subject-like status with respect to the following comment. Verbs are not attracted grammatically to left-dislocated topics, and adjacency of the verb in these structures is pragmatically motivated.

τὸ δοντα φωνερὰ καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τινὸς οἰσανδήποτε ἀντιλογίαν, ἐκεῖνα καὶ λέγω καὶ γράφω ἀφόρως μετὰ πληροφορίας 12th c./11th c., NIKON, Logos 9 314.18–19

ἡ πίστις ἡ ἀληθινή, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ τὴν ἔχουν	15th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. E</i> 553
μέν ἀπὸ τὰς πρόκριτας εἰς ἣν ἐθάρρει πλέον, παρῆγγειλεν [προ] ὁ βασιλεὺς τούς δλους νὰ προλάβει	?12th c. or 13th–14th c., <i>Eisit. f.3r.9–11</i>
ἡ παρθένος Μαρία τε Λουζουνία κόρη τοῦ κυροῦ τοῦ Στύρου, ἐρμάσαν την μὲ τὸν ἀφέντην τὸν Μανουῆλ	16th c./15th c., <i>MACHAIRAS, Chron. V</i> 58.32–3
ὅτι ἄρχισε, ἐμένα ποτὲ δὲ μοῦ τὸ ἐμολόγησε!	16th c., <i>Nov. I</i> 156.21
ξνας δὲ ἀπὸ τοὺς πρώτους τοῦ βασιλέως, ... ἐτοῦτος ... παρευθὺς ἀπαντονάρισεν δλες τὲς πρόσκαιρες δόξες	17th c., <i>VENETZAS, Varl. & Ios. 33.2–7</i>
σ' ἵντα στάτο εύρισκεται, κιανεῖς δὲν τὸ γνωρίζει	18th c./16th–17th c., <i>KORNAROS, Erot. III.34</i>

(92) “Simple topics” are attached to the left periphery of a clause or VP and are relatively brief expressions (usually single phrases) that allow no pause before the following comment; clitic pronouns are obligatory with accusative or genitive NP topics (resulting in “clitic doubling”), which distinguishes the construction clearly from focalization (see Rule (93)).

Such non-dislocated topics are typically used to establish or re-establish an already “active” participant as the central theme of the discourse (they are therefore normally definite and may contrast with what precedes), and then to continue or resume discussion of it. Unlike left-dislocated topics, they are structurally integrated phrases at the left periphery of S or VP; for the latter, consider the following example, where the subject ὁ θεός precedes the topic:

ὁ θεός [_{TOP} τὴν καρδίαν σου] [_{VP} νὰ τὴν πλαστύνῃ], καὶ [_{TOP} τὴν χώραν σου] [_{VP} εἰς τὸ ἐν ἑκατόν νὰ τὴν ποιήσῃ], καὶ [_{TOP} τὸ σπαθίν σου] [_{VP} εἰς τοὺς ἔχθρούς σου φοβερὸν νὰ τὸ ποιήσῃ].	1349, Egypt, SCHOPEN/NIEBUHR 1832: IV.14, 98.22–4
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Agreement of the topic with the clitic in case (as well as number and gender) is normal, though not quite a requirement, as “hanging nominatives” are occasionally attested in more colloquial texts (unless these are better treated as cases of left-dislocation). Attraction of the verb to a topic at the clause periphery is not grammatically required and adjacency in such cases is again a purely pragmatic matter.

ὁ βασιλέας τὸν ἔστελνεν ... [τὸν τόπον δλον τοῦ Μορέως] νὰ τὸν ἔχῃ κερδίσει	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor. H</i> 4894–5
εὶ μὲν συμβῇ [ό ἀφέντης του] ὁ ἔχτρος του νὰ τὸν πιάσῃ ... νὰ τὸν ζητήσῃ δ ἀφέντης του καὶ νὰ τὸν ἀνακράξῃ	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor. H</i> 7572–4
[τὰ ἀλλάγια ταῦτα] ποῖσε τα	15th c./14th c., <i>Pol. Tr.</i> 6906
Οδυσσεύς δ θαυμαστός μετὰ τούς Ἀχαΐτας [τοὺς Τρώας] ἐτροπεύσαν τους, ἐδιώξαν τους, ὑπάγουν	15th c./14th c., <i>Pol. Tr.</i> 3911–12
δ στρ Σιμοὺν τε Μουντολίφ δ καβαλάρης [τὸν κύρον τῆς Τύρου] ἐσφάξεν τὸν εἰς τὴν ἀναπάν	16th c./15th c., <i>MACHAIRAS, Chron. V</i> 58.25–7
δ πόθος τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἀναγκάζει τους νὰ γυρεύγουν καθημερινόν τὲς ἀφορμὲς [τὸν πλοιούτον τους] πᾶς νὰ τὸν αὐξάνουσιν	16th c., <i>Pist. kekoim. 7–9</i>

NOTES

- (i) Maintenance, or sometimes reduction, of the thematic salience of an entity may also be effected by “clitic doubling”, again without a pause between the NP object and the clitic–verb combination, but in this case the object (always definite) remains in place to the *right* of V within VP:

ἔδεσποζές το [τὸ βεργίν], καὶ μόνη σου να τό χῆς	16th c./13th–14th c., <i>Velth.</i> 585
κι ούδεν μᾶς ἄφηκες [ἐμᾶς] νὰ ἔχωμεν πολεμήσει	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor. H</i> 5121
ἐπῆραν καταπάνω τους, τροπεύουν τους [τοὺς Τρώας]	15th c./14th c., <i>Pol. Tr.</i> 3723
καὶ ἀν μὲ πιστεύητε [ἐμέν], ἀς ἔνι Άγαμέμνων	15th c./14th c., <i>Pol. Tr.</i> 8469

- (ii) “Right dislocation” is closely related in function, with the difference that the intended referent of a potentially autonomous clitic pronoun is clarified by an appositional NP located beyond the right periphery of the clause, rather as an afterthought (cf. 7.2.2); such right-dislocated items were separated from what precedes by a slight pause, though this is not normally marked graphically; note in particular that the caesura typically precedes them in verse texts, and that parenthetical material (e.g. interjections) sometimes intervenes:

ἀφήνω, παρατρέχων τα / [τὰ τότε λαληθέντα]	15th c./13th–14th c., <i>Liv. E</i> 3870
ἀπόκρισιν τούς ἔδωκεν / [ἀμφοτέρων τῶν δύο]	14th c., <i>Chron. Mor. H</i> 3402
καὶ κονταρέαν τὸν ἔδωκεν, / ἀλί, [τὸν Μαργαρίτην]	15th c./14th c., <i>Pol. Tr.</i> 6862
καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς τὴν ἔλεγεν / [τὴν ἡλιογεννημένην]	15th–16th c./?14th–15th c., <i>Achil. N</i> 1356

8.1.2 Focalization

- (93) Focalization may be effected by preposing a phrasal constituent to the left-peripheral position within a clause or phrase; clitic doubling is not allowed (see Rule (92)) and the verb is routinely attracted to the focal element.

Unlike simple topics, foci are contained within, rather than attached to, the associated phrase or clause; this guarantees that they will always stand within the scope of a topic if both items are present. Since they emphasize, contrast or correct (“XP is who/what/where/when [_s ...]”), it may be assumed that the key element of a focalized phrase was assigned a higher level of stress than that of non-focalized elements.

In verse texts the frequency of focal preposing is very high, especially that of dependent genitives within NPs, and we must assume that in this specialized literary context the more “marked” construction was often understood as a more or less free variant of the basic one. Consider the following, very typical example:

[[τοῦ κόσμου γάρ] τὴν ἡδονὴν] ἡθέλαν κι ἀγαποῦσαν

14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 3171

In the context of a list of the Franks who built castles as a symbol of their new power, no necessary emphasis or contrast seems to be attached either to the head of the preposed object NP (τὴν ἡδονὴν) or to the preposed genitive NP within it (τοῦ κόσμου); the sentence

seems simply to give a reason why they built their castles: "(for) they wanted and adored the pleasure(s) of the world" (though perhaps they wanted their pleasures now rather than to take their chances in the afterlife). "Focalization" will continue to be used to describe the relevant syntactic phenomenon, but it should be borne in mind that in some contexts there may be no special informational salience.

Focalization in Clauses

μή τολμήσῃ ... μαρτυρήσειν ... ὅτι [εἰς τὸν κόσμον] ἐμολύνθην

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 812.31-2

[τὸν δὲ πατριάρχην] ἔγραψεν αὐστηράς γραφάς

12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 31 822.33-4

[τὸ δινωειρημένον προυκίον] δίδει δὲ δινωειρημένος κύρῳ ιωάννη Κουβαράς τῆς

έγκοντης του 1496, Crete, MAVROMATIS 1994a: 1, 48.23-4

[μὲ ξύλα καὶ μὲ λιθάρια] ἐσκότωναν τὸ φουσάτον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου

16th c., *Diig. Alex. F. 20.14* (Konstantinopoulos)

ἡτον ... ἀσχημος τόσον, ὅτι [καμίαν καλοσύνην ή ισότητα] δὲν εἶχεν τὸ κορμίν του

16th c., *Vios Aisop. K* 147.7-8

νὰ πάρῃ δὲ κύρῳ Μανόλης τὸ ήμισον ..., καὶ [τὸ ἔτερον ήμισον] νὰ πάρῃ ή λεγομένη

κερά Θεόκλητη 1596, Crete, CHAIKETI 1969: 1, 164.23-4

Focalization in Phrases

ἡμεῖς [VP [οἰκείας χερσὶν ήμῶν] ἐδώκαμεν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἄχραντα εὐαγγέλια αὐτοῦ]

1102, S. Italy, ROBINSON 1929: 16, 208-9.20-1

τὸν ἔκρατει δὲ βασιλέας [ADVP [εἰς φυλακὴν του] ἀπέσω] 14th c., *Chron. Mor. H* 7969

ἀκομή καὶ [NP [τῶν ντεμπιτόρων] τὰ δινέρια] 1523, Crete, KAKLAMANIS/LAMBAKIS 2003: Inv. 3, 287.48

ἡτον ... [ADJP [ἀσχημος] τόσον], ὅτι 16th c., *Vios Aisop. K* 147.7

8.2 Clitic Pronouns and the Verbal Complex

In general, clitics immediately follow the head that governs them:

AdvP: πῶς ἡπλωσας ἐπάνω μου; 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 145

NP: νὰ το, παιδί μου, ἀγόρασε χορδόκοιλα δουκάτον

15th c./12th c., *Ptoch. III* 117 app. crit. (P)

AdjP: δύως νὰ δικολογηθῶ μὲ δύοιόν μου ζῶον 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 824

Verbs, however, show a more complex pattern of clitic distribution that requires reference to the notion of the "verbal complex" (VC), in which mood and negative markers, if present in a sentence, cliticize to the verbs they modify and form a structured unit that cannot normally be interrupted by other elements:

Mood Marker [<i>ἴνα/νά, ἄσ</i>]	> Negative [<i>μή(v)</i>]	> V _{subjunctive/past indicative}
	Negative [<i>μή(v)</i>]	> V _{imperative}
	Negative [<i>οὐ(κ), (οὐ)δέν</i>]	> V _{indicative/gerund}

(The future marker *θέ + νά* > *θά* is a late addition to LMedG/EMG (Chapter 1, Rule (6) NOTE (vii)), and is omitted.)

Indicatives, whether as lexical verbs or as auxiliaries, may take a *ἴνα/νά*-complement (cf. *θέλω ίνα/νά* = "I want to X" or "I will/shall X": *θέ νά* > *θά* represents the formal reduction of such a structure); only one of the two verbs can then be negated, and in periphrases this can only be the auxiliary. Items other than V are present only when their contribution is required for semantic or syntactic reasons, and even the otherwise obligatory mood marker *ἴνα/νά* is not required with *μή(v)* in prohibitions containing subjunctives (1.3, Rule (14)) or with conjunctions like *(է)άν/ὅταν* in generic/future-referring clauses containing subjunctive verbs (3.3.1 and 3.4.3). V is therefore often the initial, and indeed only, element in the VC of a given sentence.

As noted above, a preposed focal (FOC), interrogative (Q) or relative (REL) constituent regularly "attracts" the verb along with any associated items of the VC (leaving overt subjects in post-verbal position):

FOC/Q/REL +	[MM > <i>μή(v)</i> > V] ... NP _{subj}
	[οὐ(κ)/(οὐ)δέν > V] ... NP _{subj}

"Modal" conjunctions, i.e. those like *(է)άν/ὅταν* that do not require the co-presence of *ἴνα/νά* with subjunctive verb forms, also attract V in most cases. This began in generic/future-referring clauses containing subjunctive verbs, but more general attraction of V developed early with these conjunctions, even in past- or present-time contexts with non-modal verb forms. Later, non-modal conjunctions and complementizers such as *ὅτι*, *πώς* etc. started to follow the pattern, albeit more sporadically, with "traditional" *ὅτι* showing significantly more resistance than "innovative" *πώς*.

Codic pronouns intersect with the VC and constitute the one major exception to the rule that its components cannot be separated one from another.

(94) An object clitic stands immediately adjacent to the verb that governs it:

- if V is initial in VC and nothing precedes (i.e. within VP or S as appropriate), the clitic follows V;
- if V is initial in VC but other constituents precede (i.e. within VP or S as appropriate), the clitic precedes V;
- if V is non-initial in VC, the clitic precedes V.

The basic rule for most of the period covered by this Grammar is that clitics cannot stand before a verb in VP-initial or clause-initial position but may appear before a verb when something else precedes *them*, whether other elements of the VC or, when the VC comprises V alone, co-constituents of the relevant containing category.

This requirement is further shaped by the general principle that clitics standardly appear in “second position” in a containing phrase or clause, a principle (“Wackernagel’s Law”) that had continued into MedG from Antiquity. Since clitics must be adjacent to the verb, and since clitics normally stand in second position in a VP or clause, it follows that a VC containing only V will typically be either the first item in VP or S, with a following clitic, or the third item in VP or S, with a preceding clitic.

The position of a clitic vis-à-vis a verb that stands alone in its VC is therefore determined by what counts as a “preceding”, i.e. effectively phrase- or clause-initial, constituent for the purposes of clitic placement:

- The set of left-peripheral constituents that routinely attract the verb, namely focal elements, question words/phrases, relative pronouns/complementizers and “modal” complementizers, are regularly counted as initial items for the purposes of clitic placement:

$[_{SVP} X(P) cl+V \dots]$

- Non-modal conjunctions and complementizers may be treated either as the initial elements of clauses (with attraction of V) or as elements that introduce clauses but are not themselves part of them (without attraction of V). The result is variation in the placement of the clitic with respect to V, though the clitic itself remains second in the clause in both cases; in general, traditional complementizers and conjunctions (C), e.g. ἅτι vs. πρός, εἰ vs. (ἐ)άν etc., resist inclusion in the clause much more strongly:

C included: $[_s C [cl+V] \dots]$

C excluded: $C [_s [V+cl] \dots]$

- Subjects are regularly adjacent to the VC (the initial item in VP) but do not themselves attract the verb; in the absence of items that can attract it, V therefore remains in place as the head of VP or is fronted over the subject (see 8.1). In combination with a subject, a VC containing only V can satisfy the requirements of clitic placement in two ways: either V stands initially in VP and the clitic follows in second (phrasal) position, or the subject is counted as the first clausal constituent and the clitic precedes V in second (clausal) position:

Second position in VP: $[_s NP_{SUBJ} [_VP V+cl \dots]]$

Second position in clause: $[_s NP_{SUBJ} [_VP cl+V \dots]]$

- Standardly, simple topics are attached to the left periphery of S or VP and do not attract V. They do not therefore count as the initial elements of these categories, and clitics follow an initial V. From around the 16th c., however, simple topics also come to be treated as initial items, with the clitic then following before V; this development is again associated with attraction, which guarantees that the topic and its clitic double will be adjacent:

Topic attached: $[NP_{TOP} [_{SVP} V+cl \dots]]$

Topic included: $[_{SVP} NP_{TOP} cl+V \dots]$

- The least integrated elements of a sentence (such as left-dislocated topics and non-focal adverbial adjuncts, including adverbial clauses) do not normally attract V or count as initial elements for the purposes of clitic placement. The clause proper therefore begins with whatever comes after such items, and if this is V, the clitic then follows:

$XP_{TOP}/ADVP/S_{ADV}, [_s V+cl \dots]$

But “linking” adverbials ($ADVP_L$), i.e. those with demonstrative/anaphoric force or that denote a place, time, reason etc. that connects the sentence to the preceding discourse, begin to count as clause-initial and attract the verb quite early, with the clitic then preceding V; adverbial clauses (S_{ADV}) and left-dislocated topics (XP_{TOP}) start to be drawn into this pattern from around the 16th c.:

$[_s XP_{TOP}/S_{ADV}/ADVP_L, cl+V \dots]$

Wherever a choice is available, the frequency of the preverbal option increases over time, albeit with some delay in southern and more peripheral regions; in Cyprus, however, the earlier medieval patterns of clitic placement are largely preserved even in the modern dialect. But both clitic positions remain in play in LMedG and the freedom is particularly valuable in verse texts, where it provides different metrical possibilities.

In SMG (and most modern dialects) pre-V position has been generalized with indicatives, even though this results in clause-initial/phrase-initial clitics. Such extension of the pre-verbal option must have begun in the early 16th c. with the progressive shift in the status of various elements that literally “began” sentences but had not previously counted as “initial” for the purposes of clitic placement. As these came to be included among the set of legitimate initial items, clitics then followed in “second position” before the verb. Consider, for example, sentences with left-dislocated, or perhaps simple, topics (the distinction may be hard to make when a topicalized phrase contains modifiers):

τὰ δστήτιά της τὰ πατρικά (.) τὰ ἔκαμε μοναστήριον γυναικεῖον

1565–75, Constantinople, FOERSTER 1877: 7, 16.1–2

τὸ πέρα νεόκαστρο τοῦ Ναυπάκτου (.) τὸ ἐπολέμησε καὶ ἐπῆρε τὸ ἀπό σπαθίου

16th c., Constantinople, SCHREINER 1975/79: 63A, 484.10.1–3

Given the grammatical optionality of the material to their left, these clitics could now reasonably be seen as “initial” in their clauses, with initial pre-V position then quickly generalized to clauses without left-peripheral constituents. Early examples include:

τοὺς δίνουν τὸν μόλιν εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ ρεπάρου κατά τὰ παλαιά μακελλεῖά

1561, Zakynthos, KONOMOS 1969a: 1, 35.10–11

σὲ παρακαλοῦμε νὰ είμεστεν Φράγκοι λίμπεροι

1571, Mani, CHASIOTIS 1970: 6.1, 242.41–2

8.2.1 V Initial in VC

No Preceding Constituents: V+cl

- Ἐγράψεις με, περὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἵνα σε γράψω τὴν εἰδησιν
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 4 212.29
- ώς δρυεον πετάζεται, δοκοῦν τὸν δλα όμάλιν
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 129
- βλέπουν σε τὰ ψυχάρια μου καὶ ἔχουν σε ώς αὐθέντην
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. I 88
- νὰ σὲ δώσουν ἐκ τῆς γιστέρας τὸ νερόν, χρήζω τὸ διά ιατρείαν μου
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8211–12
- δρίζει γάρ καὶ εἶπε τού
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 4563
- ἐπῆρεν τὸ δέρδομος ἄνθρωπος
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4
- καὶ ψηλαφώντας την ἡβλέπει
16th c., KARTANOS, *P&N Diath.* 329.35
- πρόβαλε, δῶσ' τωνε τὸ φῶς, σὰν ἥσου μαθημένη
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSIS, Katz. I.15

Focal, Interrogative or Relative Elements Preceding: (cl+V)

Focal

- τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον μοι εἴπαν καὶ οἱ ἔτεροι ἀρχοντες
1136?/1151?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. IX: 19, 419.5
- πολλὰ τὸν ἔχω εὐκαιρητὴν ἐκεῖνον τὸν γοινέαν ὅπου
13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 208–9
- δρκον σε δίδω εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν δέσποιναν Θεοτόκον, ὅτι
1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.18–20
- λεπτομερῶς τοῦ ἐμήνυσεν
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7825
- τοῦ Βαλδουῆ τὸ ἐποικαν τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Πόλης
16th c./14th c., Chron. Mor. P 1098
- τὴν χάριν σου μ' ἀπόστειλε ἐτούτην τὴν ἡμέρα
15th c., CHOUMNOS, Kosmog. 2
- λέγοντες ... καὶ ὅτι τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν τοῦ ἐπαρέδωκε
16th c., Chron. Ps.-Doroth. (1572) 107–9

Interrogative

- κύρι, πῶς τὸ λέγεις;
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. I 44
- ποιὸν ἴμάτιον μὲ ἐρράψας; ποιὸν δίμιτον μὲ ἐποίκες;
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. I 46
- πῶς νὰ εὔρω μ' ἐρμήνευσε τῆς Δυστυχίας τὸ κάστρο
14th c./13th–14th c., Log. parig. L 123
- ἔκατζα καὶ ἔξηγήθην του ... πῶς τὴν ἔχαιρέτησα καὶ πῶς μὲ ἀπηλογήθη
15th c./13th–14th c., Liv. E 3778–9
- καὶ ἄκου τὸ τί μοῦ ἐσύντυχεν
16th c./15th c., Om. Nekr. Vas. 28
- ἀπὸ ποὺ τοῦ ἤλθαν ἐτούτα ἐτουτουνοῦ;
17th c., KALLIOP., *Kaini Diath.* Mark. 6.2
- ποιὸς τὸ κύτταξε τὸ σιδηρόσυρμα;
1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.11

8 Constituent Order

Relative

- τὸ ράσον τὸ σὲ δίδουσιν καὶ ἐκεῖνο ψυχικόν ἐνι
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 472.1 app. crit. (H)
- σὲ παρακαλοῦν ... μὴ τὸ δεχτῆς εἰς βάρος σου ἐτοῦτο ὅπου σὲ λέγουν
14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7902–3
- τὸ ὠραιόκαρπον δ Θεός ὅπού σᾶς λέγει, δένδρον τὸ ύψηλότατον ὅπού σᾶς εἶπε
φεύγειν, φάγε καὶ δὸς καὶ τοῦ Ἄδαμ
15th c., CHOUMNOS, Kosmog. 69–71
- εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ... ἐσέβη ὁ Ματθίας ὅποι τοῦ ἔπεσεν δ κλῆρος
16th c., SANKTAM., *Praxeis apost.* 15.8–9
- δφήνει ... τὸ ἀέρε τοῦ Κωσταντῆ τοῦ σπιτιοῦ, τοῦ ὅποιου τοῦ τὸ εἶχεν δώσει ἡ
αὐτή προικίο
1587, Cythera, CHAROU-KORONAIOU/DRAKAKIS 2010: 145, 115.9–11
- ἔβουλεύθη κακὰ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὅποι τὸν ἀνάθρεψεν
16th c., DIONYS., *Istor.* 252.13

NOTES

- (i) Imperatives normally follow the general rule, cf. δῶσ' τωνε (CHORTATSIS, Katz. I.15) with τὴν χάριν σου μ' ἀπόστειλε (CHOUMNOS, Kosmog. 2) above, but those with a preceding constituent occasionally retain the order V + cl:
μεγαλοψύχως δέξαι με
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. II 19.6 app. crit. (H)
- (ii) There are no examples in the database of gerunds with preverbal clitics as these always stand initially in their respective phrases/clauses.

"Modal" Conjunctions Preceding (both modal and non-modal verbs): cl+V

- ἔξ ἀρχῆς πολλὰ ἡντεστάθην, ὅταν τὸ ἦκουσα
12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.5–6
- καὶ ἀν μὲ εὔρης χρώμενον κακῶς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ μὲ δίδεις, τότε καὶ κατονείδιζε
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. II 67–8
- ἀν μὲ ἐποισαν τεχνίτην, ... νὰ ἔμαθα τέχνην κλαπωτήν
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. III 89–91
- καὶ πρὶν τὸ πιάσω χάνεται καὶ φεύγει ἐκ τὸ σκουτέλλιν
14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 242

- καὶ ἀπέκει, ὅταν τοὺς εἶπη ἐκεῖνος, νὰ σηκωθῶσιν
1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.17–18
- ὅταν σὲ ταχθοῦν στάριν, τὸ σακί σου καὶ τρέχε
16th c./?, Paroim. H 53 app. crit.
- ἀν τὸν πάρῃ, θέλ' είσταιν ἀφορισμένη
16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 34.3–4

NOTE

- (i) The presence of καὶ with "modal" (and indeed other) conjunctions normally blocks attraction:
φοβούμενη μήπως καὶ καλέσῃ τηνε δ Θ(εός)
1596, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 1, 164.5–6
- ἀνίσως καὶ βάλουν τα τὰ περισσότερα τορνέσα ἀπὸ κεῖνα ..., δημπλεγάρεται ...
νὰ τὰ δίδη τῶν ἀνωθεν πουλητάδω
1600, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 82, 99.10–11

"Non-modal" Conjunctions/Complementizers Preceding: V+cl and cl+V

V+cl

- ἔξω λέγεις ὅτι ἔχεις μὲ παιδίν 1360, Constantinople, KODER et al. 2001: 236, 362.14–15
 κ' εἶπεν ὅτι ώφελεῖ μὲ 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8213
ἄλλ' ὅτε εὔρουν σε μικρὸν πταίσιμον εἰς τὸ σπίτι καὶ κλέψῃς τίποτα νὰ φᾶς
 15th c./14th c., Diig. tetr. 220–1 app. crit. (C)
ἔτοῦτο τὸ παρὸν ψαλτήριον ἔνι τοῦ κύρ παπᾶ Ἰωάννου ... ὅτι ἔγόρασά το ἀπὸ τὴν
 Λευκωσίαν 15th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 91, n. 1.1–2
δ νοῦς μου οὐδὲν ἔναι μετ' ἐμέναν, δχι διὰ ζημίαν ἀμή διὰ τὰ παιδία, ὅτι ἀγαπῶ τα
 15th c., Thrace, DARROUZÈS 1963: 8, 102.20
νὰ γλυώσω τὸν ἄθρωπο δις ἐπλασα ... ὅτι ἐμετάνοιωσα ὅτι ἔκαμά τους
 16th c., Pent. Gen. 6.7
φέρε μού το σπουδαχτικὰ στὸ σπίτι μας, γιατὶ ἀντιμεύγω σού το
 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, Katz. III.149–50

NOTE

- (i) The absence of πῶς from this set of examples is probably not accidental, and indicative of the extent to which such "innovative" non-modal conjunctions had been assimilated to the distribution of modal ones.

cl+V

- ὅτε καὶ μὲ ἔλαβεν εἰς νόμιμον γυνὴν εἰς τὴν χώραν Ραγούσας
 1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 362.9–363.1
 κι ὁ ρῆγας, ὡς τὸ ἥκουσεν, μεγάλως τὸ ἔλυπτήθην 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7827
νὰ σὲ δώσουν ἐκ τῆς γιστέρνας τὸ νερόν, ... διατὶ μὲ τὸ ὕδρισε ὁ ἰατρὸς κ' εἶπεν ὅτι
ώφελεῖ μὲ 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8211–13
νὰ ἤξεύρετε διτὶ μᾶς ἔστειλεν διμέγας αὐθέντης 1430, Ioannina, RIGO 1998: [1], 62.8–9
ῶσπερ τὸ λέγει δ ἄγιος Ἄμβρόσιος δ Μεδιολάνων εἰς τὸ χρονικό του
 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 335.39–40
καὶ ἔξεθύμανεν εἰς τοὺς στρατιώτας, πῶς τὲς ἄφησαν καὶ ἔκαμαν τοιοῦτον μέγα
 πρᾶγμα 16th c., Martyr. Vlas. 247.12–13
καὶ λέν πῶς τὸ χει φυσικὸ ν' ἀδυναμίσῃ τόσα 18th c./16th–17th c., KORNAROS, Erot. III.36

Subjects Preceding: V+cl and cl+V

V+cl

- καὶ δ φόβος ἔξυπνᾶ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 170
ῶς ἐκατεστάθησαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας, δ Θεὸς ἔλευθερώσῃ σε
 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 215–16
διατὶ δ νόμος λέγει το καὶ ἡ φύσις ἀπαιτεῖ το 13th–14th c./?12th c., Spaneas P 165

8 Constituent Order

- ἔγὼ θεωρῶ δφθαλμοφανῶς, δ ρῆγας ἀγαπᾶ σας, κ' ἔχει σας εἰς προσορώτησιν κ' εἰς
 τὴν βουλὴν του πρώτους 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 8517–18
δ βασιλεύς δ Πρίαμος μηνᾶ σε μετ' ἐμένα 15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 1366
δ σουλτάνος ἀπολογήθην του καὶ μήνυσέν του μὲ τοὺς δυό του μανταφόρους
 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, Chron. V 20.26–7
μοναῦτα δ πατέρας της ἐπηρέν την εἰς τὸ σπίτιν του με μεγάλην λύπην
 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 6.8–9
 cl+V
 ἔγὼ ψιφῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲ σπαστρεύουν 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 393
ἀτός του δ μιστὶ Ντζεφρὲς τοῦ ἔδωκεν τὰ πιττάκια 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 328
 καὶ ἡ βουλὴ του τοῦ εἴπασιν τοῦ νὰ ἔχῃ ἀποστείλει ἀνθρωπον φρονιμώτατον
 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7831–2
τὸ θράσος τὸ ἐνίκησεν, πηδᾶ, καβαλικεύει 16th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. O 79
 καὶ ἡ Θεοτόκος τῆς λέγει 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 331.5
τινὲς εἶπαν διτὶ δ Πατριάρχης τοῦ ἐπαρήγγειλε νὰ ύπαγη διὰ βοήθεια
 16th c., Chron. Ps.-Doroθ. (1572) 70
ἐξέβα ἔξω, διτὶ δ βασιλεύς σε καλεῖ! 16th c., Martyr. Vlas. 245.16
ἀμμῆ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τὸ λέγουσι ἀλλέως 17th c., Chron. Tourk. Soutl. 27.22

Simple Topics Preceding: V+cl and (later) cl+V

V+cl (standard)

- ψυχὴ μου, μακροθύμησον, τὸν κόσμον ἔμαθές τον 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 308
τοὺς Τρῶας ἐτροπεῦσαν τους, ἐδιώξαν τους, ύπάγουν 15th c./14th c., Pol. Tr. 3912
αὐτὰ οὖν ὅλα ἐνθυμᾶσθέ τα νὰ τοὺς νουθετήσετε καὶ νὰ τοὺς παιδεύσετε καλά
 1465, Rome, LAMBROS 1930: 287.22–288.1
τὸν Θούμαν ἔφερέν τον μετὰ της ἡ κυρά ἡ ρήγαινα, ἡ Ελένα
 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 4.18–19
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους καβαλάρηδες ἔφάνην τους νὰ τοῦ μηνύσει ὁ ρῆγας, νά 'ρτη
 δμπρός του 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., Chron. A 22.6–7
τὸ δόποιον ἐτοῦτο ἀκούοντάς το ἔγω, δ εύχέτης τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας, οὐ δ'
ὅλως τὸ ἐπίστευσα 1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 77.13–14
ἀκόμη καὶ τὸ ἄλλον ἦμισον ἔχάρισέν το δ Διενής 1665, Cyprus, PERDIKIS 1998: 7, 19.11
λοιπὸν τὸ γράμμα πρέμπω το 17th c., PROSOPAS, Peri tyfou Dedic. 13
 cl+V (later, from ca. 16th c.)
καὶ δλους τοὺς ἔχθροὺς τοὺς ἐνίκα 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 278.18–19
καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τὸ ἔλεγαν δένδρον τοῦ φεγγαρίου 16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 335.21–2
καὶ τοῦτο το κάμνει δ Θεὸς πολλές φορές 16th c., DIONYS., Istor. 254.16

- τοῦτα τὰ εἶπεν εἰς ὅλους 17th c./16th c., MOREZINOS, *Klini* 55.14
αὐτὴ τὴν βρύση τὴν ἔφκιασε μὲν ἐδικές του ἔξοδεψες δὲ Ιζάρ μπένης 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 46.26–47.1

Adverbials/Adverbial Clauses Preceding: V+cl and (in part later) cl+V

V+cl: Adverbials

- ὅκατι τώρα βλέπω σε, πολλὰ εἴσαι βαρεμένη 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 304
εἰ δὲ πολλάκις δόξει την καὶ φθάσει δὲ καρκατοσάς της 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. I* 35
ἀλήθεια, δίδεις με πολλά 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 24
ἀπὸ μακρέα στριγγίζω τον 14th c./13th–14th c., *Log. parig.* L 71
ἐκ μέρους γάρ τοῦ ἀφέντου του ἐπαρακάλεσέ τον νὰ ὄρισῃ, νὰ τὸν δώσουσι νερὸν ἐκ τὴν γιστέρναν 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8220–1
δλίγον φέρνει με διθυμὸς νὰ βάλω νὰ σὲ σύρουν ἐκ τῶν ἀλόγων τὰς οὔράς, ὅλους νὰ σᾶς κρεμάσουν 15th c./14th c., *Pol. Tr.* 1465–6
κ' ἐκεῖ είχαν τον πολλὰ ἀκριβόν 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron. A* 14.17
τὸ λοιπόν, λέγε μου μὲν δίχως φόβον πῶς ἐπλανέθηκες τέτοιας λογῆς 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.20–1
ἀκόμη ἔδωσέν της καὶ ἀσπρα πεντακόσια 1669, Athens, KAMBOUROGLOU 1889: 184.10

V+cl: Adverbial Clauses

- δὲ προρρηθεὶς δὲ Πιτζούλος, ὅτε καὶ μὲν ἔλαβεν εἰς νόμιμον γυνὴν εἰς τὴν χώραν
Ραγούσας, δέδωκέν μοι ἐν οἴκημα 1171, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82: Coll. VII: 4, 362.8–363.1
καθεὶς δὲ ἐμογείρευσεν, εύρισκει το ἐμπροσθέν του 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, *Stichoi* 366
θωρῶντα τὸν δὲ ἀποστολές, ἐποίκεν του πολλές τιμές 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., *Chron. A* 14.17–18
οὐλὸν τὸν κόσμον θρέφει τὸν τὸ θάρος κ' ἐγὼ φότις ἐβίγλισα χ τὸν Πόθον ... ἔχασά
το κι ἀξάφα γοιὸν καμίνιν 16th c./15th–16th c., Cypr. *Canz.* 109.19–22
διν ἦμου καὶ στὴν καδένα, ἥσπουν τη νὰ φύγω 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Katz.* III.173–4

cl+V: Adverbials (mainly with a linking function)

- τότε μὲ λογάριασε καλῶς ..., καὶ διν μὲν ἕρης χρώμενον κακῶς εἰς ταῦτα τὰ μὲ δίδεις,
τότε μὲ καταδίκασε, [τότε κατάγνωσέ με] 14th c./12th c., *Ptoch. II* 66–8 app. crit. (H)
δὲ μιστρ Ντζάς δὲ Τζαρδερούς, κοντόσταυλος δὲ μέγας (οὗτως τὸν ὀνομάζασιν στὸ
πριγκιπάτο ὅλο ...) 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7820–1
διὰ τοῦτο σὲ παρακαλοῦν οἱ λίζιοι τοῦ Μορέως 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 7902
καὶ ὀσπερ τὰς γυναικας των οὔτως μὲ ἀγαποῦσιν 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 767
εἴτα τὸν εἶπε καὶ ἀς τὰ πολλαπλασιάσῃ μὲ ἔτερα ε', εἴθ' οὔτως πέ τον
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.4–6

- λάκκον βαθὺν ἐσκάψασιν, ὡς κάμνουν τοῦ κλημάτου κ' ἐκεῖ μέσα μ' ἔβαλασιν, εἰς τόπον τοῦ χωμάτου 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 69–70
δμοίως τοῦ ἀφίνει καὶ τὸ σπίτι του ... ἀκόμη τοῦ ἀφίνει τοῦ αὐτοῦ Νικολάου χωράφια πινακίων δώδεκα 1583, Zakynthos, ZERLENDIS 1918d: A, 298.19–299.2
Ἐλα νὰ πᾶμε εἰς τὸ σπίτι μου, νὰ σταθῆς νὰ ὥρινιάσω τὰ παιδιά μου, τὸ σπίτι μου ..., κι ἀπ' ἐκεῖ μὲ ἔπαρε 16th c., *Nov. II* 162.29–31
- cl+V: Adverbial Clauses (mostly late, from ca. 16th c.)
- καὶ λάφιν δὲν μ' ἐγλύτωνεν ..., τὸ νὰ τὸ δῶ, τὸ δόξευα κ' εἶχα το σκοτωμένον 16th c./15th c., *Om. Nekr. Vas.* 45–6
ἄν ἥθελες βάλης λίτρες δέκα σαλμίτριο, τοῦ βάνεις δύο κουταλιές στάχτη 15th–16th c., Heptanese, MORGAN 1954: 66.22
ὡς ἔφθασαν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον, τοῦ εἶπασιν 16th c., *Martyr. Vlas.* 245.15
ἡ ἐπιθυμία, ἐνεργῶντας εἰς τοῦ λόγου σας, σᾶς ἐστηκώνει ἡδονήν 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 34.11–12
ἐστοντας λοιπὸν νὰ εύρισκεται δι βασιλεύς εἰς αὐτείνην τὴν δεινήν πλάνην καὶ ἀπάτην, τοῦ γεννᾶται ἐνα παιδί 17th c., VENETZAS, *Varl. & Ioas.* 37.31–2
τὸν καιρὸ ποὺ ὑπανδρεύθηκε τὴν μακαρίαν καὶ ἀγιοτάτη δσίαν Θεοδώραν, τοῦ ἐφανερώθηκε δ Σατανᾶς καὶ τὸν ἔβαλε εἰς πείραξη 18th c., EFTHYM., *Chron. Gal.* 25.6–9

Left-Dislocated Topics Preceding: V+cl and (later) cl+V

V+cl (standard)

- τὴν ἐπιστολὴ τὴν σὲ ἔπειμψα μὲ τὸν Θεόδωρον νὰ τὴν πέμψεις τὸν ἀββᾶν Γεράσιμον, ἀνάγνωσέ την 12th c./11th c., NIKON, *Logos* 9 314.15–16
τὴν μίαν κασέλαν τὴν μικρὴν ἀφίω την τὸν ιστρὸν τὸν κύρ Μανουήλ ca. 1270, Athos, BOPPAIRE 1964: 9A, 81.37
τοὺς κόντους καὶ καβαλλαρίους, ἀπεχαιρέτησέν τους 14th c., *Chron. Mor.* H 8610
καὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ ποιεῖς ἐσύ λέγεις τα πρὸς ἐμένα; 15th c./14th c., *Diig. tetr.* 164
τὸν νοῦν μου τὸν ἀδούλωτον, ἐκατεδούλωσές τον 15th c./?14th–15th c., Achil. L 743 transcr. (Panayotopoulou/Lendari)

- ἀπὲ τὸ μοῦ μηνᾶς δτι εἰσαι γεῖτος μου καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν ἀγάπην κατὰ τὸν ὄρισμὸν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ νὰ ἔχωμεν δῆμμαν μεσὸν μας, τζετιάζω το 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, *Chron.* V 20.27–9
τὴ δοξεμένη μου καρδιὰ σκίζου καὶ σφάζου μού τη 17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, *Erof.* II.118

cl+V (later, from ca. 16th c.)

- τὰ ὅποια ἀνωθεν δουκάτα εἴκοσι, τὰ ἔλαβεν χεροδοτὰ σῶα 1581, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 25, 35.14–15

ταῦτα πάντα δσα μὲ ὅφηκεν δ πατέρας μου δ Σεραφείμ, τὰ ἐπερίλαβα ἔγώ ἡ Ζαφείρω
1606, Serres region, ODORICO 1998: 26, 102.17-18
ἔκεινοι δὲ οἱ προλεγόμενοι ἄνδρες ..., ἐκείνην τὴν κακωσύνην ὅποι εἴχασιν μέσα τῶς,
τὴν φανερώνουσι 17th c., VENETZAS, Varl. & Ios. 40.12
τὰ ροῦχα καὶ τές κασέλες μέρτσα, τὰ ἔλαβα καὶ κρῆμα εἰς τὸν κόπον
1696, Ochrid, MERTZIOS 1947a: 9, 214.10

8.2.2 V Non-Initial in VC: cl+V

Mood Marker Preceding

καὶ κἀν ἄς τὸν ἐκέρδησες καὶ κἀν ἄς τὸν ἔχάρτης, ἄς εἶδες κἀν ἐνύπνιον γλυκύν κατὰ
τὸν ὑπνον! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 167-8
ποῦ ἦτον εἰς τὸν ἐσπερινόν, ἄς τὸν ἐκβάλουν ἔξω 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 49
καὶ γάρ ἐζήτησεν τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς χώρας καὶ νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἐδώκασιν
1288, Cos, NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU 1980: 75, 228.22-3
τὶ νὰ σὲ λέγω τὰ πολλὰ πολλάκις νὰ βαρείεσαι; 16th c./14th c., Chron. Mor. H 1092
δὲ βάλῃ ἀλλα τόσα καὶ ἔτερα ε' καὶ ἄς τὰ σουμμάρη. εἴτα τὸν εἰπὲ καὶ ἄς τὰ
πολλαπλασιάσῃ μὲ ἔτερα ε', εἴθ' οὔτως πέ τον
post 1427, Unknown, HUNGER/VOGEL 1963: 38, 34.5-6
τὸν δίδομεν ἄδειαν, τὸ πεζούλιον ὅπερ εύρισκεται ἐκεῖ ὅποι τρέχει, ήγουν ὅποι
ἐβγαίνει τὸ νερόν, γὰ τὸ ὄρίζῃ καὶ νὰ φκιάνη καὶ τὸ νερὸ ἐὰν χαλάσῃ τίποτε
1582, Athos, LEMERLE 1988: 58, 179.5-6
καὶ τὰ μετρητὰ τοῦ πεθεροῦ μου, μὲ πρῶτο καράβι ὅπου θέλει ἔρθει νὰ μᾶς τὰ
στείλης 1697, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 64, 240.4-5

Negative Preceding

ψεύδεται, φλυαρεῖ, μὴ τὸν πιστεύῃς! 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 133
μεγαλοψύχως δέξαι με καὶ μὴ μὲ ἀγανακτήσῃς 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. II 19.6 app. crit. (H)
τὸ δὲ ὅματζιο καὶ λιζίαν, τὸ ὄριζει νὰ ἔχουν ποιήσει τοῦ μπάλου ἐκεινοῦ ντὲ Σουλῆ,
ποτὲ οὐδὲ τὸ κάμνουν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7874-5
διὰ τοῦτο σὲ παρακαλοῦν οἱ λίζιοι τοῦ Μορέως μὴ τὸ δεχτῆς εἰς βάρος σου ἐτοῦτο
ὅπου σὲ λέγουν 14th c., Chron. Mor. H 7902-3
αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τὸ ἡθέλησαν, ἥλλαξάν το δὲ καὶ ἀπῆραν τὸ ἀμπέλιον τοῦ γιαλοῦ
14th-15th c., Athos, LEFORT et al. 1995: 95, 148.8
ἄν οὐ σὲ γάπουν τὰ πολλά, τώρα σκοτώσει σὲ χα
15th-16th c./?14th-15th c., Achil. N 1571
μὴ σοῦ φαίνεται παράξενο ἄν ἐσκοτίσθηκα ἀπό τὴν πολλὴν λάμψιν
16th c., KARTANOS, P&N Diath. 329.30-1
καὶ ὅσες γραφές τοῦ ἐπεμψε ἡ γυναῖκα του, δὲν τές τοῦ ἐδώκεν
1571, Unknown, CATALDI PALAU 2003: 8, 481.11-12

8 Constituent Order

καὶ ὃ δὲν τὸ πιστεύῃ δ ἄνωθεν μισερ-Τζώρτζης, διμπλεγάρεται δ ἄνωθεν μισερ-
Μαθιός νὰ πὰ τὸ ξανακαμπανίσου στοῦ ἄνωθεν Καρβουνάρη

1609, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 626, 547.15

NOTES

- (i) The traditional negative marker οὐ(κ) and its verb are often treated as a single unit within the verbal complex, thus forcing the clitic either to precede the negative or to follow the verb according to the immediate contextual requirements. This occurs mostly in early texts:

τόπον ἐκ τόπου μεριμνᾶς καὶ τόπος οὐ χωρεῖ σε 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 156
γοργὸν ἄν σὲ οὐκ ἐκβάλουσιν, ἐκεῖ νὰ ἐξεψυχήστης 13th c./12th c., GLYKAS, Stichoi 229
τί τοὺς οὐ θάπτω ὠσότε ζῶ καὶ φεύγω ἀπό τὴν Πόλιν ... ; 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. II 26.11 app. crit. (H)

- (ii) The presence of a connective in second position between a negative and its verb may override the expected clitic placement:

μὴ οὖν ἀποχωρίστης τους μηδὲ ἀποπέμψης μᾶλλον 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. I 12

- (iii) The emphatic negative μηδὲ regularly stands immediately before the word that it emphasizes and may prevent clitic attraction if this is the verb:

καὶ μηδὲ ἐπιχειρῶ το ?12th c. or 13th-14th c., Eisit. f.8v.4

We may contrast examples where the presence of a focus other than V allows for the regular distribution:

τὸ δὲ θὲς ἐσύ, νὰ μηδὲ ἀλλοῦ τὸ ποιοῖς 16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, Log. did. 24

- (iv) A negative marker may combine with an intensifying adverbial to form a single element (= "not at all" etc.):

τὸ ὅποιον ἐτοῦτο ὀκούοντάς το ἔγω, ὁ εὐχέτης τῆς μεγάλης σου βασιλείας, οὐ δ'
ὅλως τὸ ἐπίστευσα 1655, Moldavia, TCHENTSOVA 2004: 9, 77.13-14

Mood Marker and Negative Preceding

καὶ λυτρωθοῦμεν τὸν γοργόν, νὰ μὴ μᾶς παραβλέπῃ 14th c./12th c., Ptoch. IV 528
τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον ἔνι τοῦ παπᾶ Μιχαήλ τοῦ Πρακανᾶ καὶ εἰ τὶς νὰ τὸ πάρῃ νὰ
διαβάσῃ καὶ γὰ μηδὲν τὸ στρέψῃ, νὰ ἔχῃ τὰς ἀράς τῶν τιν' θεοφόρων πατέρων
14th c., Cyprus, DARROUZÈS 1953: 99, 99.1-3

ἐγδύνουνται ... ἀποὺ τὰ σπίτιαν καὶ ἀπό δλα τως τὰ δικαιωμάτα σὰν νὰ μὴν τὰ
θέλασιν ἔχει ποτέ 1592, Naxos, KATSOUROS 1955: 19, 74.13-14

παρακαλῶ τὴν πανιερότη σου νὰ μὴ τὸ πάρως σὲ βάρη νὰ μοῦ πέψης μιὰ φλέτσα ...
καὶ κακοφαίνεται μου καὶ γράφεις μου νὰ μὴ τόνε δεκτῷ 1612, Crete, CHAIRETI 1969: 4, 171.10-14

8.3 Clitic Pronouns and Periphrastic Verb Forms

Perfects and pluperfects formed with *ἔχω* + passive participle (typically a southern feature, cf. 4.4.4), treat the pronoun as the object of the auxiliary. This is expected, since the origin of the construction is an expression in which the participle serves as an object predicate: "I have it + written" etc. The placement of the clitic vis-à-vis *ἔχω* then follows Rule (94) (i.e. in conformity with the various constraints on what can count as an initial constituent for the purposes of clitic placement):

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>Θωρῶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ ἔχει σας κερδεμένους</i>
<i>μ' δλο ποὺ τόσοι βασιλιοὶ τὴν ἔχου ζητημένη</i>
<i>βοήθεια ἀπὸ ἄρματα, ὅποιοι οἱ Τούρκοι τοὺς ἔχουν στερεμένα</i> | 16th c./15th c., LIMEN., <i>Than. Rod.</i> 61
17th c./16th c., CHORTATSI, <i>Erof. I.534</i>
1609, Cyprus, CHASIOTIS 1972: 35, 59.7 |
|---|---|

For examples of pluperfects formed with *εἰχα* + infinitive (which are ultimately derived from conditionals), see below.

From the semantic point of view, futures and conditionals formed with *ἔχω/θέλω* + infinitive or subjunctive should treat clitic pronouns as complements of the infinitive/subjunctive, cf. "I will + take it", "he will + come to you", etc. This is clearly the case when the subjunctive is marked by *νά*, since there are obviously two distinct VCs in play and the clitic always belongs to the second (as its second element):

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>θέλεις [νὰ τοὺς ἐκλέξεις]</i>
<i>ἄν δύναμαι, ἔχω [νὰ σὲ δουλεύσω]</i>
<i>θέλει [γὰ μοὺ δώσει] δ ἀδερφός μου</i> | 14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 4633
?1448, Constantinople, VRANOUI 1980: 45, 321.5
1531, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 20, 66.13-14 |
| <i>ἔχει [νὰ τοῦ ἔλθῃ] αὐτὸς ὁ θάνατος</i>
1598, Crete, BAKKER/VAN GEMERT 1987: 14, 35.5-6 | |

The same analysis in fact applies to the relatively rare examples of bare subjunctives without *νά*:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>δὲν ἥθελαν [τὸ δουλεύουν]</i> | 1573, Kefalonia, ZAPANDI 2001a: 2, 21.10 |
|----------------------------------|--|

This situation persists throughout the period of this Grammar and eventually results, via phonological reduction of the auxiliary, in the sequence ($\theta\acute{\epsilon} \nu\acute{\alpha} >$) $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ + clitic + V familiar from MG (where the residual status of $\theta\acute{\alpha}$ as the head of a VC is indicated by the fact that it is still negated by *δὲν*, independently of what follows).

Things are different, however, with infinitives (in what follows, futures/conditionals and pluperfects are treated together as formally parallel periphrastic structures). When the auxiliary is initial, the pronoun stands before the infinitive, making it the second element both in the periphrasis taken as a whole and in the containing clause:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>Aux + cl + Infinitive: θέλω σου τα πέψει</i> | 1498, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 3, 21.16 |
|---|---|

When the auxiliary is non-initial in its VC, or has been attracted to a clause-initial constituent, the clitic is normally preposed before the auxiliary to remain the second item in the periphrasis/clause:

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <i>X [cl + Aux + Infinitive]: νὰ τὴν θέλωμεν θάψει;</i> | 15th c./?12th c., <i>Dig. E</i> 92 |
|---|------------------------------------|

This state of affairs suggests an early reanalysis of the sequence *Aux + cl + Inf*, whereby the clitic was taken to be the grammatical complement of the preceding auxiliary rather than of the following infinitive. In other words, infinitival periphrases came to be regarded as unitary verb forms, with the auxiliary as part of a single VC and the infinitive as its head.

This latter development, however, was generalized rather slowly in the south, most obviously in Crete:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>τοι γάμους σου ἔρχεται νὰ τιμήσῃ δ βασιλίδς τῆς Πέρσιας, σὰν εἴχα σου μιλήσει</i> | 17th c., TROILOS, <i>Rodol.</i> III.215-16 |
|--|--|

It was strongly resisted in Cyprus, where the auxiliary and infinitive are consistently treated as the heads of two distinct VCs, giving the sequence [X + Aux + cl + Infinitive] in all cases:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>ἄν εἴχα [σε γεννήσειν]</i> | 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron. V</i> 644.5-6 |
|-------------------------------|---|

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>ἄν εἴχεν [του πάρειν] τὸ καράβιν, ἔθελεν πεθάνειν ἀπὲ τὴν πλῆξιν του</i> | 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron. O</i> 86.3-4 |
|---|--|

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>ἄν εἴχα [τὸ ξεύρειν], οὐδὲ ἔγω ἔμπαινα</i> | 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., <i>Chron. A</i> 38.3 |
|---|--|

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>ἄν εἴχεν [τὸ ποίσειν], ἐγινίσκετον μέγα σκάνταλον</i> | 16th c./15th c., VOUSTR., <i>Chron. A</i> 52.6-7 |
|--|--|

Auxiliary Initial: Aux+cl+V

- | | |
|--|---|
| <i>καὶ ἄν τὸν πάρης, θέλω σοῦ δώσειν κακὸν θάνατον</i> | 16th c./15th c., MACHAIRAS, <i>Chron. V</i> 68.26 |
|--|---|

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>θέλομε σοῦ δώσει θέλημα</i> | 1663, Crete, LYDAKI 2000: 5, 415.13 |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>μοῦ ἔγραφες πώς θέλεις μοῦ στείλη τὸ ρέστο τῆς παραγγελίας</i> | 1696, Kastoria, MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.8-9 |
|---|--|

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| <i>ἥθελε τὸν ρίξει κάτω μὲ καμίαν λαβωματιάν</i> | 18th c., <i>Don Kis.</i> 50.17 |
|--|--------------------------------|

NOTES

- Failure of attraction of the clitic to the innovative/popular complementizer in cases like πώς θέλεις μοῦ στείλη (MERTZIOS 1947a: 6, 213.8-9, cited above) is difficult to explain in view of what was said above about this class of elements (and cf. the expected pattern attested in the examples immediately below). Perhaps these cases simply reflect the continuing influence of the functionally equivalent *ὅτι*, which tends to retain the "main-clause" distribution of clitics in subordinate clauses, as noted. We may compare the same situation in corresponding examples with pluperfects:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <i>ώς εἴδανε οι Οὐγγαροι τοὺς Φραντζέζους τὸ πώς εἴχανε τουσε κόψει δλους</i> | 17th c., <i>Chron. Tourk. Soutl.</i> 33.1-2 |
|---|---|

Auxiliary Non-Initial: X cl+Aux+V

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>εὶ μὲν τὸν θέλεις κακοποιῆσαι διὰ τὰ σφάλματα αὐτοῦ</i> | 1130-40?, Sicily, CUSA 1868/82; Coll. XI: 14, 535.9-10 |
|--|--|

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| <i>τὸ στέμμα τὸ βασιλικὸν νὰ τοῦ τὸ ἔχουν φορέσει</i> | 14th c., <i>Chron. Mor.</i> H 953 |
|---|-----------------------------------|

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>ὅταν σᾶς θέλουν σφάξει</i> | 15th c./14th c., <i>Pol. Tr.</i> 1441 |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>ἐκεῖνοι παρακάθουνται ήνα τὸ θέλουν πάρει</i> | 16th c./?14th-15th c., <i>Achil. O</i> |
|--|--|

δύντε τὴν θὲτητίξει

σὰν ἔλθουν οἱ ποντικοὶ ..., τοὺς θέλουμε ἀντισταθῆ

Pluperfects formed with *εἰχα* + infinitive naturally follow the same general patterns of clitic distribution, though the fact that the majority of examples occur in subordinate clauses with overt conjunctions strongly favours pre-auxiliary position overall. Generally, therefore, the clitic precedes the auxiliary in the presence of a conjunction (or indeed a negative marker or other legitimate "initial" element):

ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκεῖνον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ ... δποι τὸ εἶχεν χάσει

16th c./15th c., FALIEROS, *Ist. On.* 160
16th c., ZINOS, *Vatr.* 261–2

καθὼς τοὺς εἶχε ὅμόσει

δὲ μοῦ εἶχες δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμή εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν

1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7

καθὼς τοὺς εἶχεν ἀφῆκει ὁ Νεκτεναβός

16th c., *Dīg. Alex.* K 349.33

προτοῦ σώσῃ ἔκει, τὸν εἶχε φθονήσει ἡ γυναίκα του καὶ ὁ υἱός του καὶ τὸν

ἐσκοτώσανε

17th c., *Chron. Tourk. Soult.* 30.29–31

τές δύο στάμνες ποὺ σοῦ εἶχα στείλει

1681, Ioannina, VELOUDIS 1987: 9, 306, f2r.21

But if the conjunction is a traditional one, the clitic may sometimes follow:

ἐπειδὴ εἶχον του μηνύσει νὰ ἔλθει νὰ ίμοιράσουν 1502, Corfu, PANDAZI 2007: 39, 33.2–3

And post-auxiliary position is regular in the second of two conjoined clauses when the periphrasis is the initial element:

δὲ μοῦ εἶχες δώσει τότες ἄλλο ..., ἀμή εἶχε μου εἰπεῖν

1501–3, Crete, MANOUSSACAS 1976: 7, 33.7

By contrast, the original (i.e. biclausal) treatment of the construction is retained in Cyprus, with clitics appearing in post-auxiliary position across the board:

εἶχαν τὸν κόψει κακὰ καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν

15th c./?13th c., *Assizes B* 267.11–12

εἶχαμέν το δώσει

1468, Cyprus, RICHARD/PAPADOPOULOS 1983: 46, 25.2

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Index of Innovative Greek Endings and Suffixes

This index includes all endings and inflectional suffixes that are not inherited from earlier stages of the language. In order not to overburden this index, for phonetic and phonological variants the reader is referred to the relevant sections in Part I: raising vocalism (e.g. -ιτι for -ετε 2.5.4); back vowel raising (e.g. -ους for -ος or hypercorrection thereof, e.g. -ον for -ουν 2.8.3); deletion of final /s/ through dissimilation (e.g. -ου for -ους, -έ for -ές 3.7.1.1); nasal deletion before stops (e.g. -οται for -ονται 3.6.2.1); addition and deletion of final /n/ (e.g. -ων for -ω or -ον for -ουν 3.7.2.1 and 3.7.2.2); addition of word-final vowel (e.g. -ωνε for -ων, -ούσινε for -ούσι(ν), -όμουνα for -όμουν 2.6.3); syncope (e.g. -τε for -ετε 2.7.2); gemination (e.g. -μεθαν for -μεθα 3.4.2.5); different stress patterns (e.g. -άμεν in ἔπαιζάμεν for ἔπαιζαμεν 4.2.3); synizesis (e.g. -ιούς for -ιους, -ιά for -έα/-ια 2.9.4). Also not included are endings that are the result of a combination of ligatures, e.g. -ομένστα(ν), which in fact represents -ομέστα(ν).

For nouns only nom. sg. is included, unless other cases or the plural cannot be inferred (e.g. -άδει).¹ For adjectives only the nom. sg. ending of masc. is listed, unless e.g. the feminine or neuter counterpart cannot be inferred on the basis of SMG (e.g. fem. -αρέα). For verbs only 1 sg. is listed (e.g. -ούσα, but not -ούσες, -ούσ, etc.), unless there are notable variant forms for other persons (e.g. 3 pl. -οσσα). For forms of the copula είμαι, for pronouns, articles and numerals and for endings that appear with single lexical items (e.g. λέγας), the reader is referred to the Index of Greek Words and Phrases.

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¹ For masc. Pontic nouns with nom. sg. in -ού-όν (e.g. δ Σούτον, δ Κυριακόν), see II, 1.4. For Cypriot gen. pl. nominal endings that are morphologically identical to the accusative (e.g. τά ράσα τούς καλογέρους), see II, 1.2. For Cycladic acc. pl. -ού-οι endings (e.g. τίς γερόντοι, τίς προστοι), which are identical to the nominative, see II, 1.3.

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